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DELHI
AGRA
FATEHPUR SIKRI

with 127 pictures in monochrome
and 14 colour plates

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THAMES AND HUDSON · LONDON

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY JEAN CARROLL AND ISOBEL HATTON

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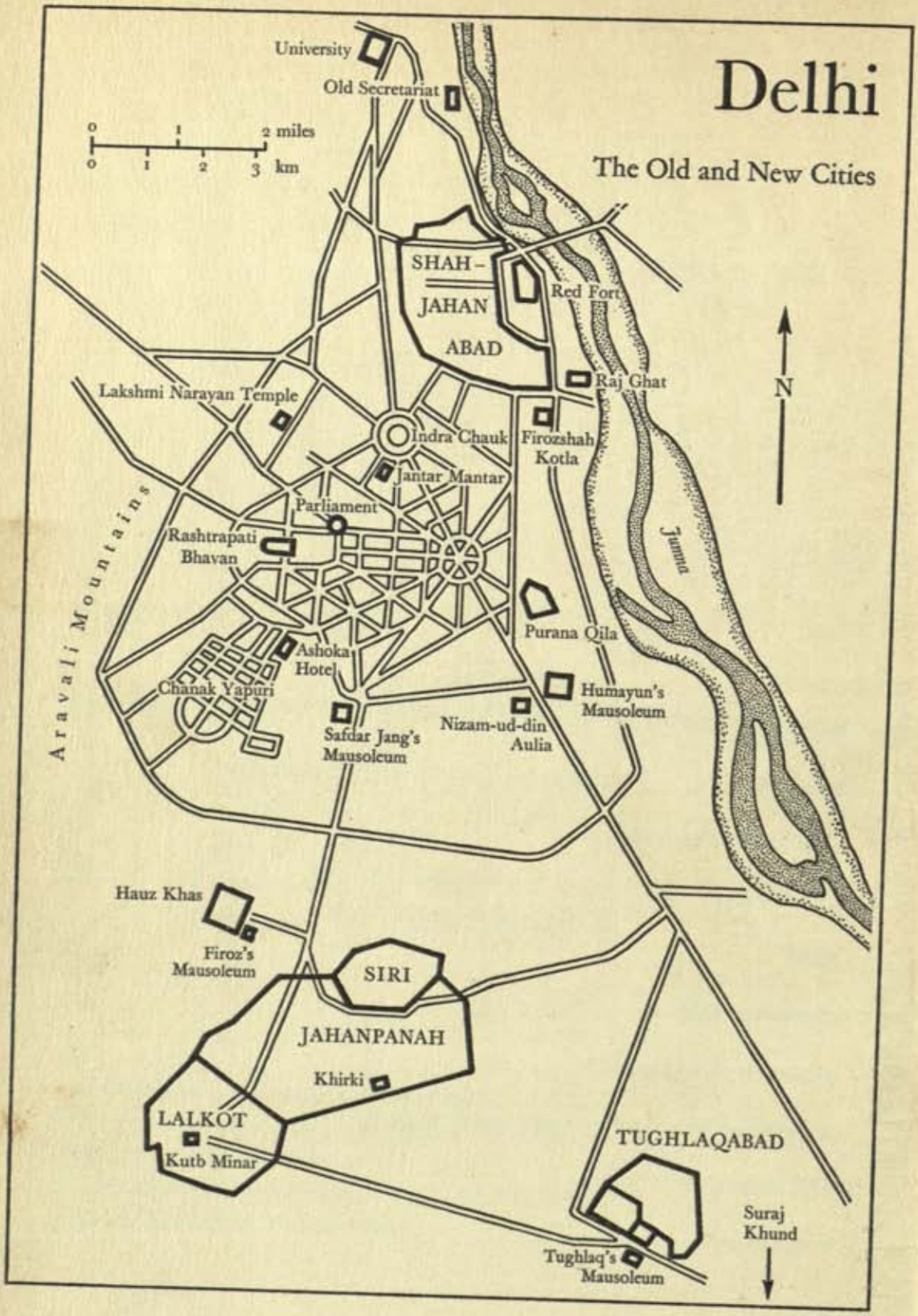
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	7
OLD DELHI	9
SHAHJAHANABAD, DELHI	41
NEW DELHI	73
AGRA	85
FATEHPUR SIKRI	113
NOTES ON THE PLATES	129
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE RULERS OF DELHI	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY	149
POSTSCRIPT	150


Delhi
The Old and New Cities
University
Old Secretariat
0 1 2 miles
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SHAH-
JAHAN
ABAD
Red Fort
Raj Ghat
N
Lakshmi Narayan Temple
Indra Chauk
Firozshah
Kotla
Jantar Mantar
Parliament
Rashtrapati
Bhavan
Aravali Mountains
Jumna
Purana Qila
Ashoka
Hotel
Chanak Yapuri
Humayun's
Mausoleum
Nizam-ud-din
Aulia
Safdar Jang's
Mausoleum
Hauz Khas
Firoz's
Mausoleum
SIRI
JAHANPANAH
Khirki
LALKOT
Kutb Minar
TUGHLAQABAD
Suraj
Khund
Tughlaq's
Mausoleum

INTRODUCTION

Where the Jumna flows from the Punjab into the plains of Hindustan, to join the waters of the sacred river Ganges at Allahabad, the war-like tribes from Afghanistan and Central Asia pitched their tents and built fortresses and towns, the possession of which came to be part of the imperial claim to the mastery of all India. Delhi is the only place in India that grew to be more than the mere seat of a principality, and was destined to be the central point of an empire.

People sometimes talk of the 'Seven cities of Delhi'. The number can be increased if the various towns, villages and collections of ruins are added: Lal Kot, Jahanpanah, Siri, Tughlaqabad, Firozabad, Purana Qila, Shahjahanabad and others. Since the name of Delhi was first used, it has been employed for one or other of these places, as well as for the whole extensive district of forty-five square miles between the Aravali mountains and the Jumna, over which the sites of these towns are scattered.

Not even today is it clear what is meant by 'Old Delhi'; whether this is the town founded by Shah Jahan, still populous today, or the ruins, stretching far to the south, of earlier towns, or merely one of the towns, like that around the fortress of Lal Kot.

As was customary when we first visited Delhi almost four decades ago, we shall call Shahjahanabad of the seventeenth century the 'true' Delhi, and the rest of the princely capitals, previously founded and abandoned, 'Old Delhi'. 'New Delhi', founded by the British as the seat of the Indian government, borders the older town on the south and extends far into the area of the earlier towns.

Besides these various Delhis we also visited the two imperial residences that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries disputed the supremacy of the imperial capital: Agra, situated further down the Jumna, and the ephemeral Fatehpur Sikri, founded by the great Akbar. These form for the historian and the art historian, as well as for the tourist, an indivisible group.

OLD DELHI

There is no town in India that can compare with Delhi in the number of its monuments and memories of the past. But these monuments and memories are concerned almost exclusively with the rule of foreign conquering dynasties and the religion of Islam introduced by them. Where was the 'Indian' capital shaped by the thousands of years of Hindu culture? There are thousands of temples and places of pilgrimage that spread the fame of Vishnu and Shiva far and wide around them, buildings breathtakingly rich in sculptured figures, but the worldly empire of the Hindus has disappeared almost without trace, except for those comparatively modern capitals of principalities which sought to equal the imperial court of Delhi. In the religious myths and songs there is scarcely any reliable account of the great ones of the land. To be sure, we know from various indications that there were great rulers and flourishing towns. However, the kings of India were not interested in the name they left to posterity, though they struggled for power grimly enough. Only Ashoka, the emperor who became the apostle of Buddhism, has left us in his edicts unique historical evidence, engraved on pillars in various places in his domains. But the edicts do not speak of his victories on the field of battle and his other achievements as a ruler; rather they describe the hap-

piness to be found in the knowledge of the Way which was shown to the enlightened. To obtain reliable evidence on the conditions in pre-Moslem India, we must fall back on the isolated accounts of two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, of the fifth and seventh centuries respectively.

From the twelfth century onwards, however, war-like peoples, following the banner of the Prophet, poured down from Central Asia and the high valleys of Afghanistan into Hindustan, many of them in the footsteps of Alexander. They brought a different conception of culture into the country. They brought their builders with them and their chroniclers, and with them a sense of history came to India for the first time. All at once the evidence that had been lacking up to then begins to appear in large quantities. Some of the most remarkable of the rulers, such as Timur, Babur, Jahangir and Aurangzeb, have left us their memoirs. They built mosques, fortresses and towns, which they named after themselves, and soon they vied with each other in the building of ever more magnificent monuments which would preserve their fame far into the future, though this was contrary to the original teaching of the founder of their religion. The work of assiduous court chroniclers was supplemented by the unprejudiced, or differently prejudiced, accounts of travellers from the West: Persians and Arabs, like the famous Ibn Batuta from Tangier, and after the sixteenth century, in increasing numbers, the Portuguese, French and other Europeans, such as those especially interested observers, the Jesuit missionaries.

In the *Mahabharata*, the collection of poetry from the Vedic period, the town of Indraprashta is mentioned as being wrested from the wilderness by the Pandavas – the five Pandu brothers. The name of the village of Indrapat is all that has come down to us from this oldest Delhi. The earliest monuments which are to be found here today, were brought from other places centuries ago in order to give their new situation the sacredness of greater antiquity. Thus Anang Pál, a prince of Tomara, when building the fortress of Lal Kot, caused the famous Iron Pillar, of unknown date but probably found in Muttra, to be erected in the courtyard of his splendid temple. And this pillar, together with the other pillars of the temple, was later used to ornament the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque.

The two pillars of Ashoka in Delhi were also originally put up in quite different places in the third century BC. Firoz Shah first brought them to his newly built seat of government in the fourteenth century as a symbol of archaic kingly dignity.

As mysterious as the origin of the Iron Pillar is that of the only great Hindu shrine remaining in the precincts of Old Delhi, far to the south, known as Suraj Khund. It is a pool surrounded by steps like an amphitheatre, with the ruins of a

large building on one of the longer sides, according to local tradition and judging by its name a temple of the sun-god, Surya.

The eleventh-century Anang Pál mentioned above is the first historically authenticated ruler of Delhi. In the middle of the following century his dynasty was overthrown by Vigraha Rajah, the king of Ajmir, whose nephew and successor, Prithvi Rajah, was the last Hindu prince of Delhi. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Mohammedan usurpers appeared, and then, faithfully recorded in contemporary accounts, there began an unending struggle for the mastery of Delhi, in which appeared all the elements of Oriental despotism, tyranny and princely virtues. Treachery, horrible assassinations, blindings and other mutilations, and family tragedies, alternate with valiant victories, political and cultural achievements and deeds of real magnanimity and piety, sometimes all exemplified in the career of one man.

Mohammed of Ghor, the brother and representative of King Ghiyaz-ud-din, after a first unsuccessful attempt to invade India, made for the Jumna again a few years later. In the winter of 1192–93 he won a victory over Prithvi and had the captured ruler executed. When he returned to Ghor he handed over his command to his close friend, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, whom he had raised from being a slave to commander-in-chief. Qutb-ud-din was a faithful servant to his master, who, two years later, summoned him to his palace in Ghazi and made him Viceroy of Delhi. It was not until 1206, when Mohammed was assassinated on the Indus, that Qutb-ud-din took the title of Sultan. He became thereby the founder of the so-called Slave Dynasty. He was called Aibak, the maimed, because of an injury to one of his little fingers; because of his renowned generosity, he was also known as Lakbakhsh, that is to say, the giver of ten thousands. He died in 1210 as the result of an accident at polo. Two of the most magnificent monuments in Old Delhi preserve his memory: the Quwwat-ul-Islam, that is, the Might of Islam, Mosque, and the Qutb Minar, the tower of victory, though indeed at the time of his death only the first storey of the latter had been completed. (There is also a theory that this tower was not named after the Sultan, but after a certain Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar Kaki, who was at that time revered as a saint in Delhi.)

Aibak is Islam's first great builder in India, and with him begins the proud line of monuments which show the contrast between the architecture of Islam in the form it took in western Asia and the utterly different Hindu temples with their over-abundance of figures. All figurative decoration is banned in Mohammedan building, and under the strict rule not even plant forms were permitted. The architectural forms stand out all the more clearly on account of this: the luxuriance

of the many ambitious tower-like structures over the altars and cult images of the Hindus has here given way to the determination to construct, to create arches and vaults, and to fashion space.

The central arch, fifty-two feet high, of the wall shutting off the sanctuary of the Great Mosque was an epoch-making innovation in India. Pleasure in decoration lived on in the discovery of more and more abstract patterns and in the ornamental use of the Arabic letters in their various forms. Primarily, quotations from the Koran were used, but isolated allusions to the founders can be deciphered. The builders emphasized the triumph of Islam by using the richly decorated pillars from Hindu temples, and inserting their plant motifs between the Tughra ciphers.

Aibak's successor was his son-in-law Iltutmish, known as Altamish, who was also a former slave. As a faithful Moslem, he had himself appointed to the rank of 'Sultan of India' by a special envoy from the Abbassid caliph of Baghdad. Ibn Batuta describes him as 'just, pious and virtuous'. He enlarged the Great Mosque to more than twice its size, and the heightening of the mighty tower is principally his work. He added the provinces of Sind and Malwa to his kingdom. His extensions to the mosque include the richly decorated tomb with a sarcophagus in the open court, which is generally supposed to be the burial place of this important ruler; it is the earliest royal tomb in Delhi.

The next ruler to build himself a monument was Ala-ud-din Mohammed. In 1296 he got rid of the reigning sovereign, Jalal-ud-din Firuz, who was his uncle, by an act of gross treachery, and he took care not to suffer the same fate by setting up a secret police system. Between his campaigns he enlarged the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque by adding a third courtyard, and began to erect his own tower, which was meant to be even larger and higher than the Qutb Minar. But when he died, in 1316, of a disease brought on by his debauched life, the tower was no nearer completion than it is today.

In the confusion over the succession that followed, all the descendants of this king perished, and in the year 1321 the most able general in the kingdom, who had served the ruling house faithfully, ascended the throne as Ghiyaz-ud-din Tughlaq Shah. In the four years of his reign he showed himself to be a strict Moslem and a just administrator, who took his civil duties no less seriously than his military ones. He sought to encourage agriculture and laid out gardens. He built Tughlaqabad, the third town of Delhi, and at the foot of the hill with its mighty fortified walls, in the midst of a lake, he erected his tomb, which is worthy of this great warrior and fervent believer with its absence of the rich ornamentation so beloved of his predecessors.

The most despotic of all the rulers of Delhi appears on the scene in the person of Tughlaq's son, Mohammed Shah (1321–51). Together with the infamous prophet Shaik Nizam-ud-din Aulia, he intrigued against his father, and took advantage of the king's return from a journey to carry out a treacherous plan: he caused a wooden building to be constructed for the ceremonial welcome in such a way that the tread of the elephants caused it to fall on top of the king as he entered. Ibn Batuta, who visited Delhi in 1333, said of the new ruler:

> Mohammed is a man who, above all others, is fond of making presents and shedding blood. His generous and brave actions, and his cruel and violent deeds, have obtained notoriety among the people. The ceremonies of religion are dear to his heart, and he is very severe in respect of prayer and the punishment which follows its neglect.

Executions took place in the antechamber of the audience hall, and the corpses were exhibited there for three days.

Because, in the second year of his reign, Mohammed received a series of anonymous letters in the form of petitions, in which he was unsparingly reproached for his misdeeds, he revenged himself by moving the capital to Daulatabad, the former Deogir, and forcing the inhabitants of Delhi to settle there. 'At first they were unwilling to obey, but the crier of the monarch proclaimed that no one must be found in Delhi after three days.' When the time was up all the houses in the town were searched by the king's slaves. They found only two men in the streets, a cripple and a blind man; they were both brought before the king, who had the cripple murdered, and the blind man dragged to Daulatabad, but, according to Ibn Batuta, nothing save one of his legs arrived. And the same authority further informs us how this Indian Nero mounted the battlements of his palace one evening and let his gaze wander over his city, in which there was no fire or smoke or light to be seen, and cried out: 'Now my heart is satisfied, and my feelings are appeased.' After some time had passed he caused Delhi to be settled by peoples from various provinces, but when the Arab traveller entered it the place which he described as 'in fact one of the greatest cities of the universe', still gave the impression of being deserted.

Another Arab visitor of this period, Shahab-ud-din Abul Abbas Ahmad from Damascus, gives us the following description:

> Delhi consists of several cities which have become united, and each of which has given its name to all the rest. It is both long and broad, and covers a space

of about forty miles in circumference. The houses are built of stone and brick, and the roofs of wood. The floors are paved with a white stone, like marble. None of the houses is more than two storeys high, and some only one. It is only in the palace of the Sultan that marble is used for pavement. But ... this description applies only to the old houses of Delhi, for the new ones are built differently ... Delhi comprises an aggregate of twenty-one cities. Gardens extend on three sides of it, in a straight line of twelve thousand paces. The western side is not so furnished, because it borders on a mountain. Delhi contains a thousand colleges, one of which belongs to the Shafa'is, the rest to the Hanafis. In it there are about seventy hospitals, called Daru-sh Shifa, or houses of cures. In the city, and those dependant upon it, the chapels and hermitages amount to two thousand. There are great monasteries, large open spaces, and numerous baths.

On his death bed, in 1351, Mohammed Tughlaq appointed his cousin, Firoz Shah Tughlaq, to be his successor; this latter entered into the capital five months later, and reigned for thirty-seven years as one of the most just and benevolent rulers that Delhi had ever seen. First of all he exerted himself to erase the memory of the misdeeds of his predecessor. He paid compensation to the unfortunates who had had their eyes put out or their noses or other parts of their body cut off, and laid a record of these reparations in Mohammed's tomb in order that he might partake in the grace of God. He set up a labour exchange and founded a marriage bureau, and he is responsible for some of the most outstanding buildings in Delhi. Firozabad is his particular creation, but he also built canals and provided for the maintenance of older buildings. Let us hear his own statement:

Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was the desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind builder with their prayers. Again by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time; giving the restoration of these buildings priority over my own building works ...

In his palace at Firozabad he set up one of the two Ashoka pillars which he had had brought to the capital, and the message inscribed thereon by the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka became a kind of token of faith for the pious Moslem. Firoz

Shah's tomb stands among the noble group of buildings of Hauz Khas, where he founded a school or academy for studying the Koran.

After Firoz' death confusion about the succession weakened the kingdom, and when in 1398, Timur, the emir of Samarkand and conqueror of Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia, invaded India, he met with only slight resistance. In his autobiography the mighty warrior himself describes how he entered Delhi:

> When the soldiers proceeded to apprehend the Hindus and *gabrs* who had fled to the city, many of them drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahan-panah and Siri to Old Delhi, burning all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burned their wives and children with them, and rushed into the fight and were killed. The Hindus and *gabrs* of the city showed much alacrity and boldness in fighting. The *amirs* who were in charge of the gates prevented any more soldiers from going into the place, but the flames of war had risen too high for this precaution to be of any avail in extinguishing them. On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly fifteen thousand Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering and making prisoners. The following day, Saturday, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women and children. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; *ashrafis*, *tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated Alai coinage; and brocades and silks of great value ... The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city ...
>
> I ordered that all the artisans and clever mechanics, who were masters of their respective trades, should be picked out from among the prisoners and set aside, and accordingly some thousands of craftsmen were selected to await my command. All these I distributed among the princes and *amirs* who were present, or who were engaged officially in other parts of my dominions ...

This account reminds us that the kingdom of Delhi and the capital itself were inhabited by a people the majority of whom kept to the Hindu faith of their fathers, even though it is only Mohammedan rulers and Mohammedan places of

worship that are spoken of, and that these Hindus for the most part lived their own lives relatively undisturbed, though attempts to turn them to the state religion of Islam certainly were not lacking.

After the sack of Delhi Timur viewed the various towns with interest; then he led his horde onwards without bothering about the rulership of the region. The king, Mahmud Tughlaq, who had fled, returned to his throne. When he died in 1412 the dynasty of Tughlaq came to an end.

The four representatives of the house of Sayyid, who now succeeded, and ruled in Delhi for thirty-nine years, were of no more importance to India than other rulers all over the country who went their own way in their larger or smaller principalities, with incessant struggles for power between rivals and neighbours. The first Sayyid, Khizr Khan, did not even claim the title of Shah (king); he described himself as viceroy of the successor of Timur, Shah Rukh, though he did not really owe him allegiance. Under the last Sayyid, Alam Shah, the kingdom of Delhi shrank to the immediate environs of the town.

Buhlul Lodi, the able commander of the army, could not endure the sight of the decay of the kingdom any longer, and he himself took over the sovereignty after Alam Shah had willingly abdicated in order to live a comfortable life as a private citizen in Budaun. The second member of the Lodi dynasty, Buhlul's remarkable son Sikandar, had a prejudice against the capital, especially after the great drought of the year 1503 made the climate unbearable and caused pestilence to break out. A commission which he sent down the Jumna to seek out a more suitable site, chose Agra, up till then insignificant. Sikandar may have preferred this place for strategic reasons too, since it was, among other things, suitable as a strongpoint in his struggle against Gwalior. After the withdrawal of the court, Delhi did indeed remain the traditional holy centre of the kingdom. Here a new ruler would be proclaimed, here were the most famous tombs and here Sikandar himself found his last resting place, the simple dignity of which accords well with the puritanical fervour of this king. The domed tombs in the Lodi Gardens, which are today surrounded by the residential quarter of modern Delhi, form an impressive group of buildings, transitional in style between the monuments of Old Delhi and the beginning of the epoch of the great Moghul Emperor, in which the architecture of India developed more richly than ever.

In the year 1526 Sikandar's son and successor, Ibrahim Lodi, was devastatingly defeated by Babur at Panipat, and with this the rule of the Afghan dynasty came to an end. The new lord, Babur, was a sixth-generation descendant of Timur on his father's side, and on his mother's side was descended from the no less celebrated

Ghengis Khan ... He himself is numbered among the greatest conquerors of history, and the Indian dynasty of the Moghuls, which was founded by him, was one of the most brilliant that the world has ever seen.

In his autobiography, which in its frankness is one of the most historically valuable as well as most attractive of self-portraits, Babur explains how even as a youth he had found his way to power by hard struggles and repeated reverses; but his memoirs do not only show the stormy warrior who reminds us of the young Alexander, they also bring us face to face with – certainly for the first time in the history of India – a complete, almost 'modern' personality, who takes trouble to observe small details and has an eye for nature, and unaffectedly expresses his likes and dislikes. He describes for us how he came to Delhi and visited this historic place almost like a tourist of our time:

> We halted on the banks of the Jumna, in order to refresh our horses. After two other marches, on Tuesday, I visited the mausoleum of Nizam Aulia, and at the end of the third march encamped near Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna. The same night being Wednesday, I circumambulated the tomb of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din, and visited the tomb and palaces of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khilji, and his minaret, the Shams tank, the royal tank, the tombs and gardens of Sultan Bahlol and Sultan Sikandar, after which I returned into the camp, and went on board of a boat, where we drank arak. I bestowed the office of Shikkdar (or military collector) of Delhi on Wali Kizil; I made Dost the diwan of Delhi, and directed the different treasuries to be sealed and given into their charge.
>
> On Thursday we moved thence, and halted hard by Tughlaqabad, on the banks of Jumna. On Friday we continued to halt in the same station. Maulana Mahmud, Shaik Zain, and some others went into Delhi to Friday prayers, read the khutba in my name, distributed some money among the fakirs and beggars, and then returned. On Saturday we marched from our ground, and proceeded, march after march, upon Agra. I went and saw Tughlaqabad; after which I rejoined the camp ...
>
> On Thursday, the 28th Rajab, about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took my residence in Sultan Ibrahim's palace. From the time when I conquered the country of Kabul, which was in the year 910 [AD 1504], till the present time, I had always been bent on subduing Hindustan ... and in the space of seven or eight years entered it five times at the head of an army. The fifth time the most High God, of his grace and mercy, cast down and defeated

an enemy so mighty as Sultan Ibrahim, and made me the master and conqueror of the powerful empire of Hindustan.

Babur always regarded Delhi as the capital, but he did not settle among the ruins of bygone glory. He preferred Agra, which was more suitably situated from the military point of view. He died in 1530 in his forty-eighth year. It is said that he had so feared for the life of his son Humayun, who was very ill, that he offered his own life to God to save his heir, and God had heard his prayer. Babur left no monuments; he always remained a foreigner and he makes it very clear in his memoirs that he did not really like India, much as he had striven for it: 'Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks.' Even the Hindu architecture was not to the taste of the strict Moslem: he found it too 'irregular'.

Humayun, the second Moghul emperor, leaves no sign, either, of the dynasty's importance in Indian architecture. His irresolute character and his good nature, never quite equal to the harsh realities of power, were the direct causes of his misfortune. Even his intended wife, Hamida Begum, the future mother of his brilliant son, at first wanted to have nothing to do with him. After varying fortunes of war, in which he was always beaten in the decisive battles, he withdrew to the country and finally sought refuge with the Shah of Persia, while a new ruler appeared in Delhi.

This new ruler was the Afghan Sher Shah, of the race of Sur. He was originally named Farid, and received his name of Sher, that is, the Tiger, because he had killed a tiger while hunting. Sher Khan first attracted attention in the kingdom of Bihar. He played the game of intrigue customary at the court in a masterly manner, and distinguished himself as a commander as well as a royal tutor. His intention to unite the Afghans, who had conquered the north of India, in battle against the house of Timur, was apparently already formed when he took service temporarily at the court of Babur. The chronicler, Abbas Khan, describes how the two men met:

> After some time, Sher Khan waited upon the Emperor [Babur] one day at an entertainment, when it happened that they placed before him a solid dish, which he did not know the customary mode of eating. So he cut it into small pieces with his dagger, and putting them into his spoon easily disposed of them. The Emperor Babur remarked this, and wondered at Sher Khan's ingenuity, and said to Khalifa, his minister, who was at his elbow, 'Keep an eye on Sher Khan; he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghan nobles, greater than he, but they never made any

impression on me; but as soon as I saw this man, it entered into my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and the marks of mightiness'.

Sher Khan, having gained experience, made his escape in time, and rose to be prince of Bihar. After his victory over Humayun in the battle of Chausa in June 1539, he entered Delhi and took the title of Farid-ud-din Sher Shah. He was already in his fifties; he himself said of his white beard that the throne of Hindustan had come to him at the time of evening prayer. He had not quite six years left to him to complete (besides his campaigns) one of the most astonishing of princely achievements. The former royal tutor set wholeheartedly about the task of building up an administration – indeed, of creating an empire of Hindustan for the first time – with methods that appear scientific. The previous rulers had maintained their authority throughout the country by military force, and their governors and garrisons kept order to a certain extent, but of an organized state like that built up by the Chinese or the Romans in antiquity there was no question. Sher Shah built great roads and bordered them with fruit trees, erecting at regular distances caravanserais, seventeen hundred in number, with separate rooms for Moslems and Hindus, and he provided police supervision, and postal communications with an excellent service of relay stations. He thought out his own system of taxation, he had the land surveyed and the properties entered in registers, which had to be written in Persian and Hindi. The army was strictly organized and independent. An independent administration of justice was preferred above all other considerations. The chronicler writes: 'Travellers and wayfarers, during the time of Sher Shah's reign, were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch; and a decrepit old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishments which Sher Shah inflicted.'

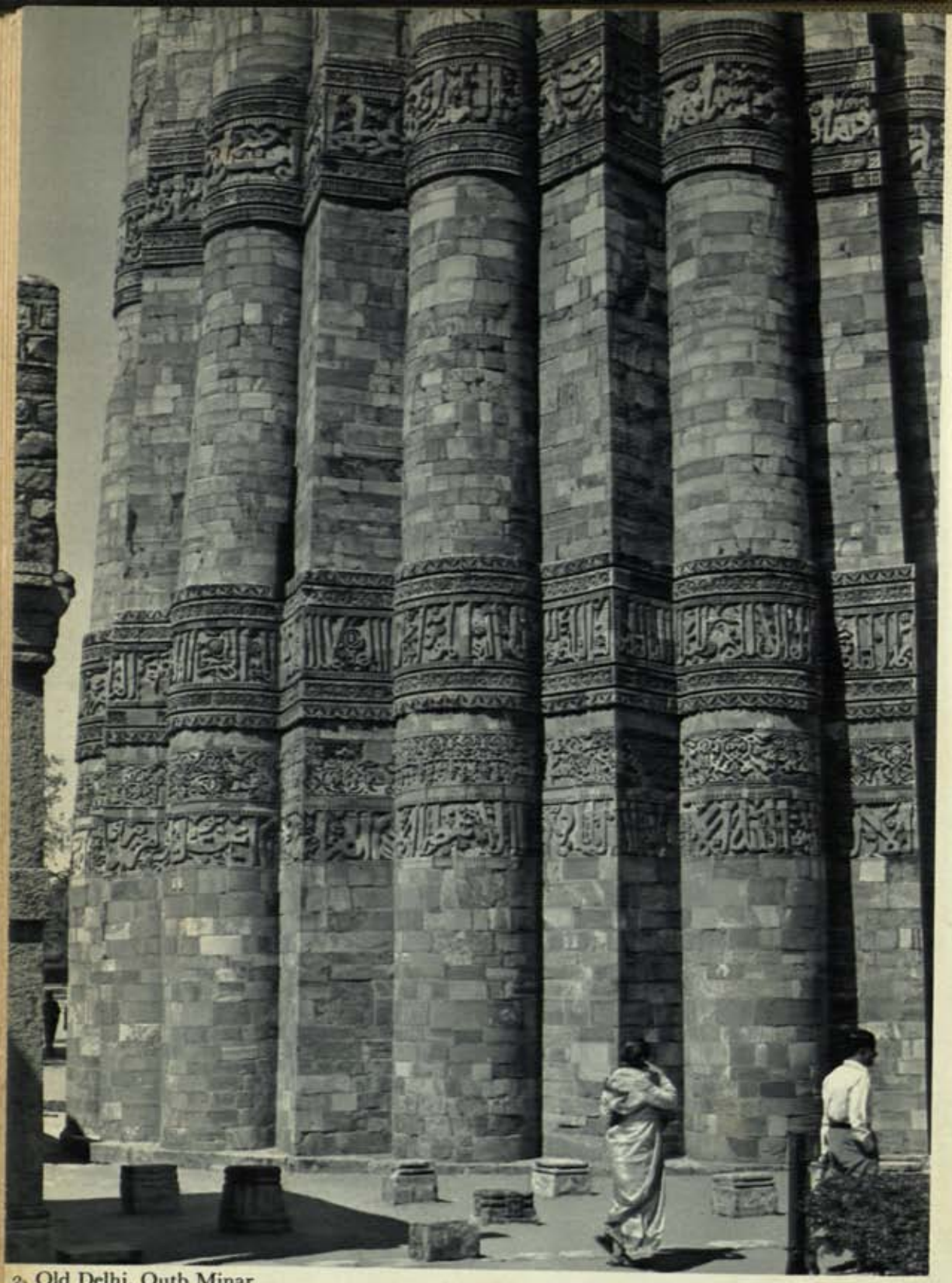
The few buildings remaining from the short reign of this Emperor bear the stamp of originality, as might be expected. His tomb, the apotheosis of Pathan (Afghanistan) art in India, lies far from Delhi, in his original capital of Sasaram, but the Purana Qila, begun by him, forms one of the most impressive groups of building in Old Delhi, with its mighty walls broken by a ceremonial gate, and the mosque of Qila-i-Kuhna. 'They laid out their buildings like giants and finished them like goldsmiths', it is said of the craftsmen of Sher Shah.

This ruler, the sole great member of the dynasty of Sur, was killed in an explosion at the siege of Kalinjar, just before the fortress was taken. Under his suc-

cessors the quarrelling and licentiousness said to be typical of the Afghan soon came to dominate the scene, and the imperial power slipped away from them. It was left to Humayun's son Akbar to carry out the work of his father's great opponent, and to consolidate the Empire.

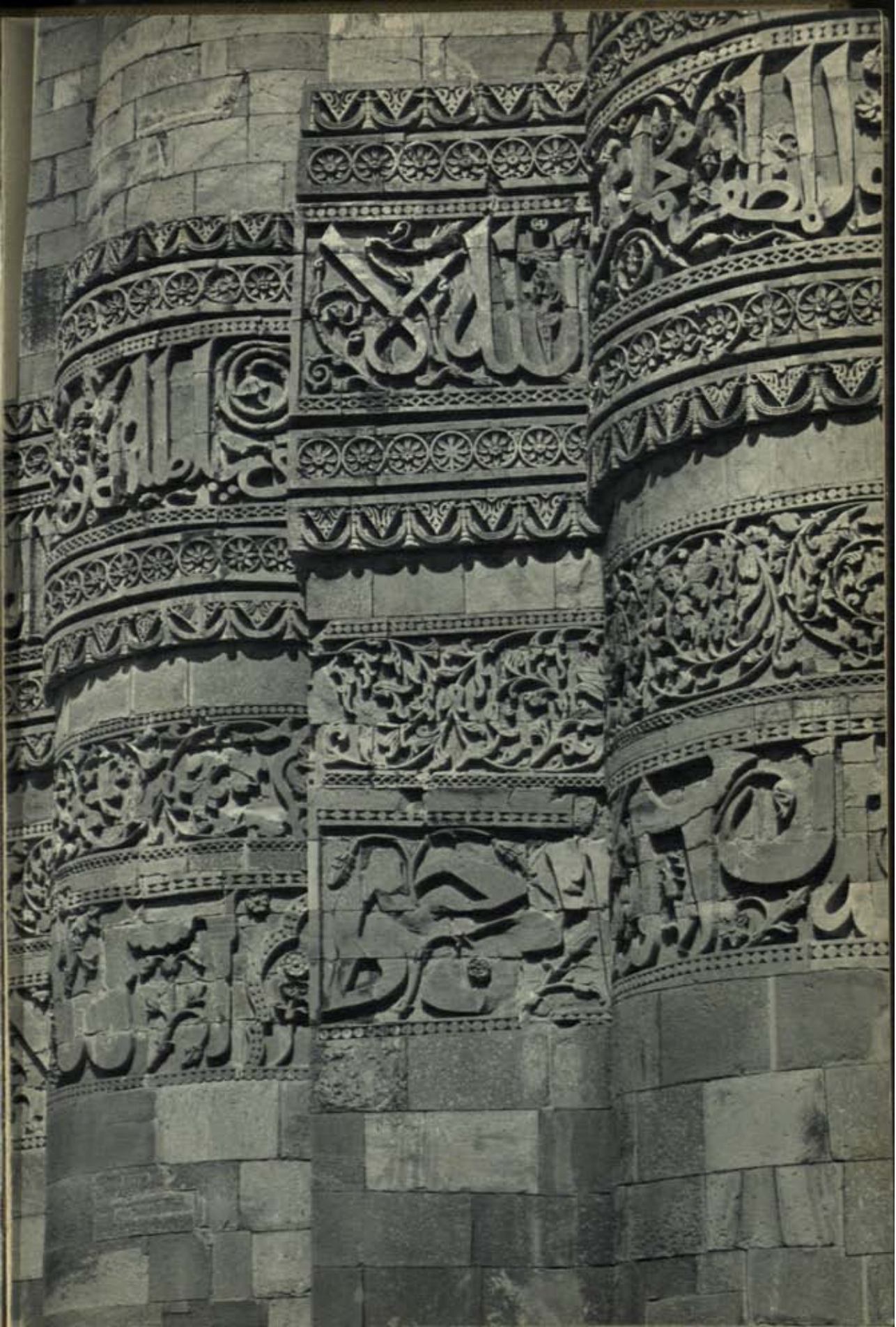
Humayun survived to the end of the reign of Sher Shah's son and successor, Islam Shah (1554). In the same year he attacked India from Kabul, and thanks to the success of his generals he entered Delhi on 23 July 1555. He had once wanted to found his own town there, 'to be the asylum of wise and intelligent persons, and be called Dinpanah (World Refuge)'. But the beginnings had been abandoned because of the activity of the Afghans, and so he settled in Purana Qila. On 24 January of the following year he had an unlucky fall from the roof of the library of Sher Mandal, after a discussion with the astrologers, and he died two days later. His successor Akbar, who was still a minor, chose Agra as his residence, but his widow, Hamida Begum, had his tomb erected in Delhi by the architect Mirak Ghiyas. This tomb surrounded the memory of the ruler with all the aura of brilliance which had been withheld from him in life. For nine years the work went on, creating the mighty substructure, surrounded by walls and gates, upon which rises the tomb with its double dome, with the flowerlike indentation of the outer white marble surface, so characteristic of Moghul domes and the result of Persian influence. If we omit the later domed tomb of Safdar Jang, much weaker in design though still effective, Humayun's tomb is the last and the most splendid monument of Old Delhi; with it the history of the old town of Delhi ends and a new age begins.

1. Old Delhi. Qutb Minar



2. Old Delhi. Qutb Minar

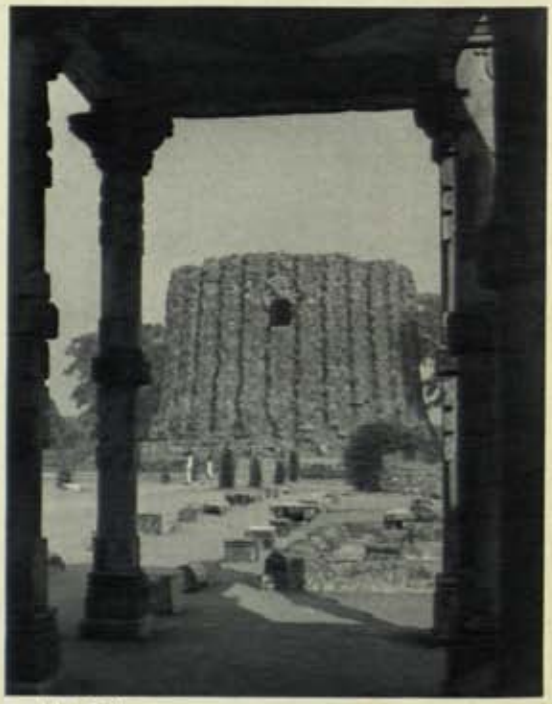
3. Qutb Minar



4. Old Delhi. Alai Darwaza

5. Mausoleum Imam Zamin

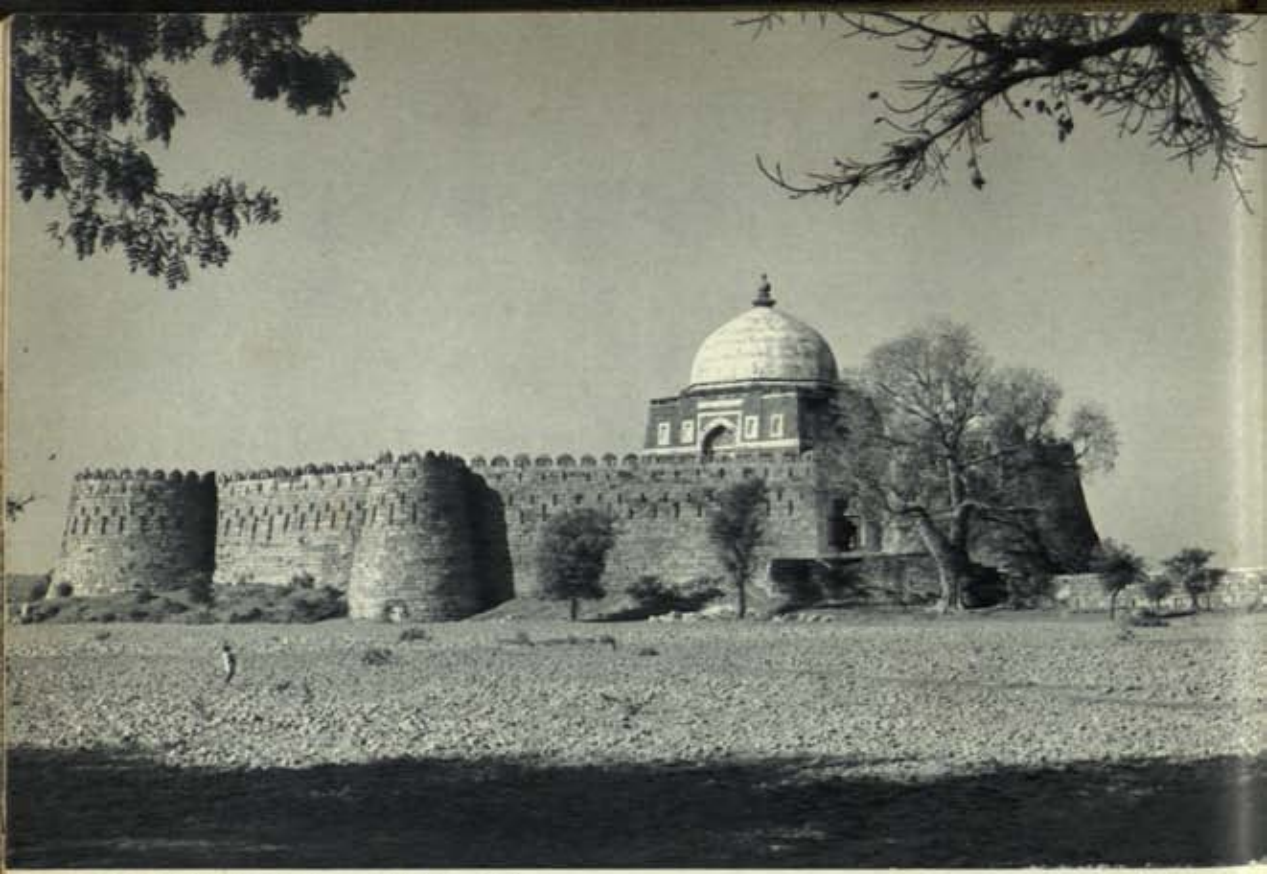
6. Lal Kot



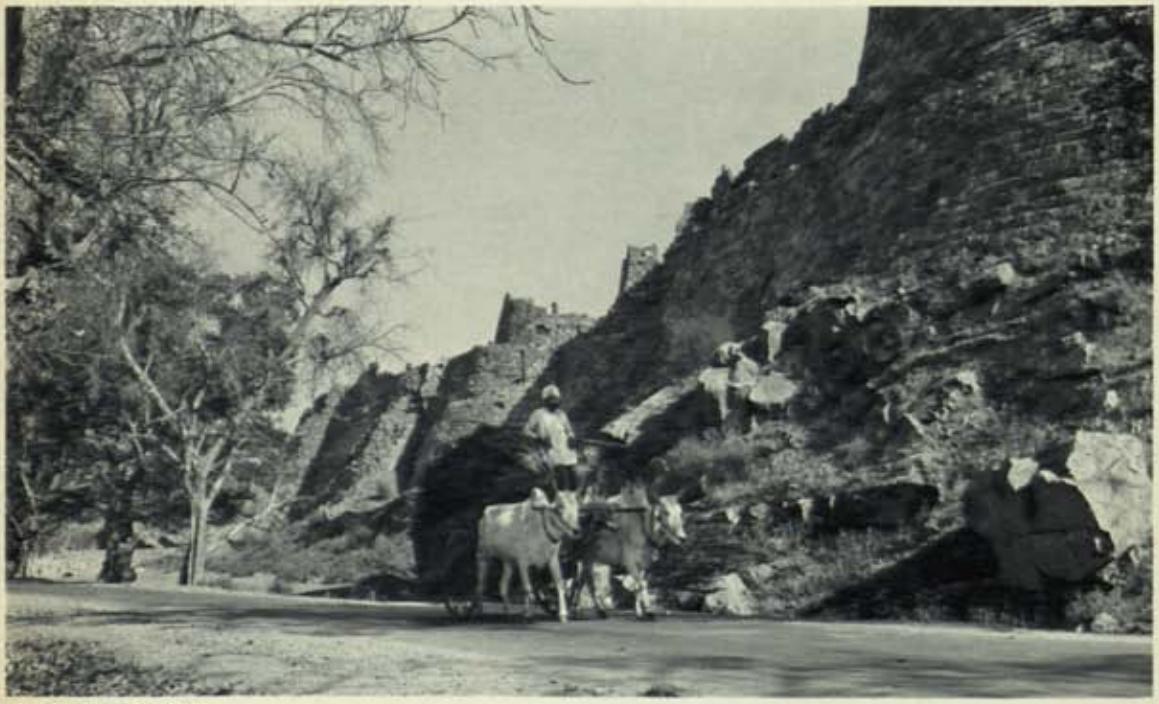
7. Alai Minar

8. Quwwat ul Islam

9. Iron Pillar



13. Old Delhi. Mausoleum Tughlaq Shah

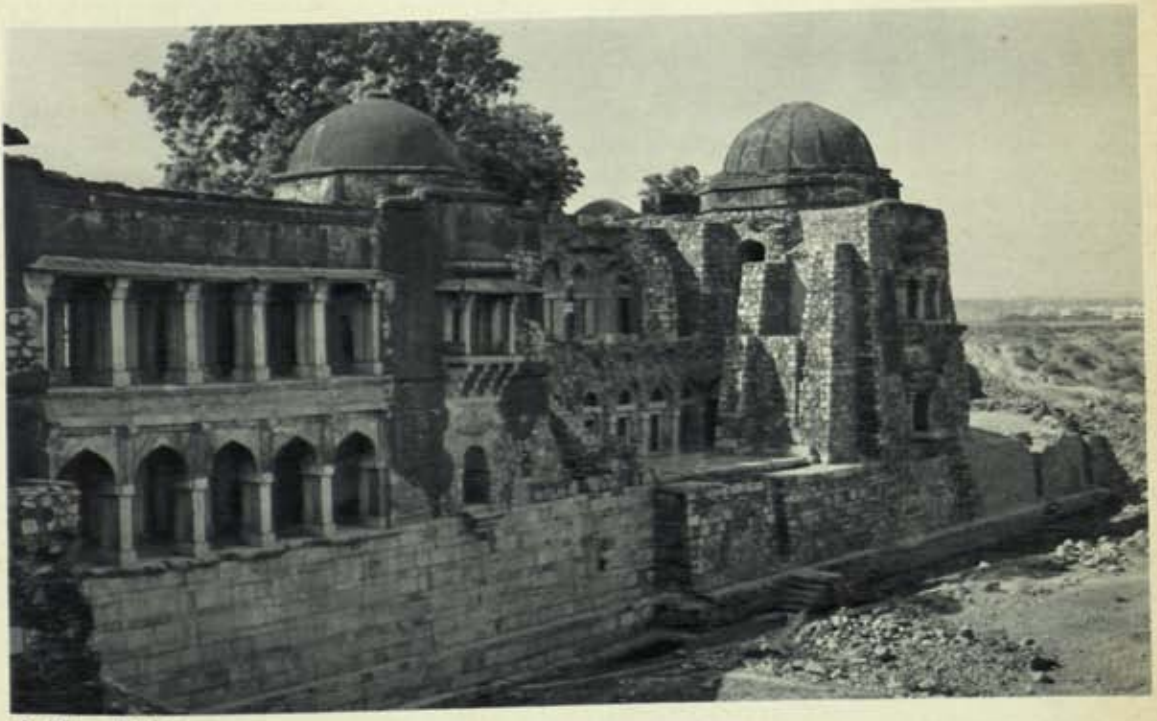


14. Tughlaqabad

15. Mausoleum Firoz Shah

16. Hauz Khas

17. Hauz Khas



18. Hauz Khas

19. Old Delhi. Mausoleum Sikandar Shah Lodi

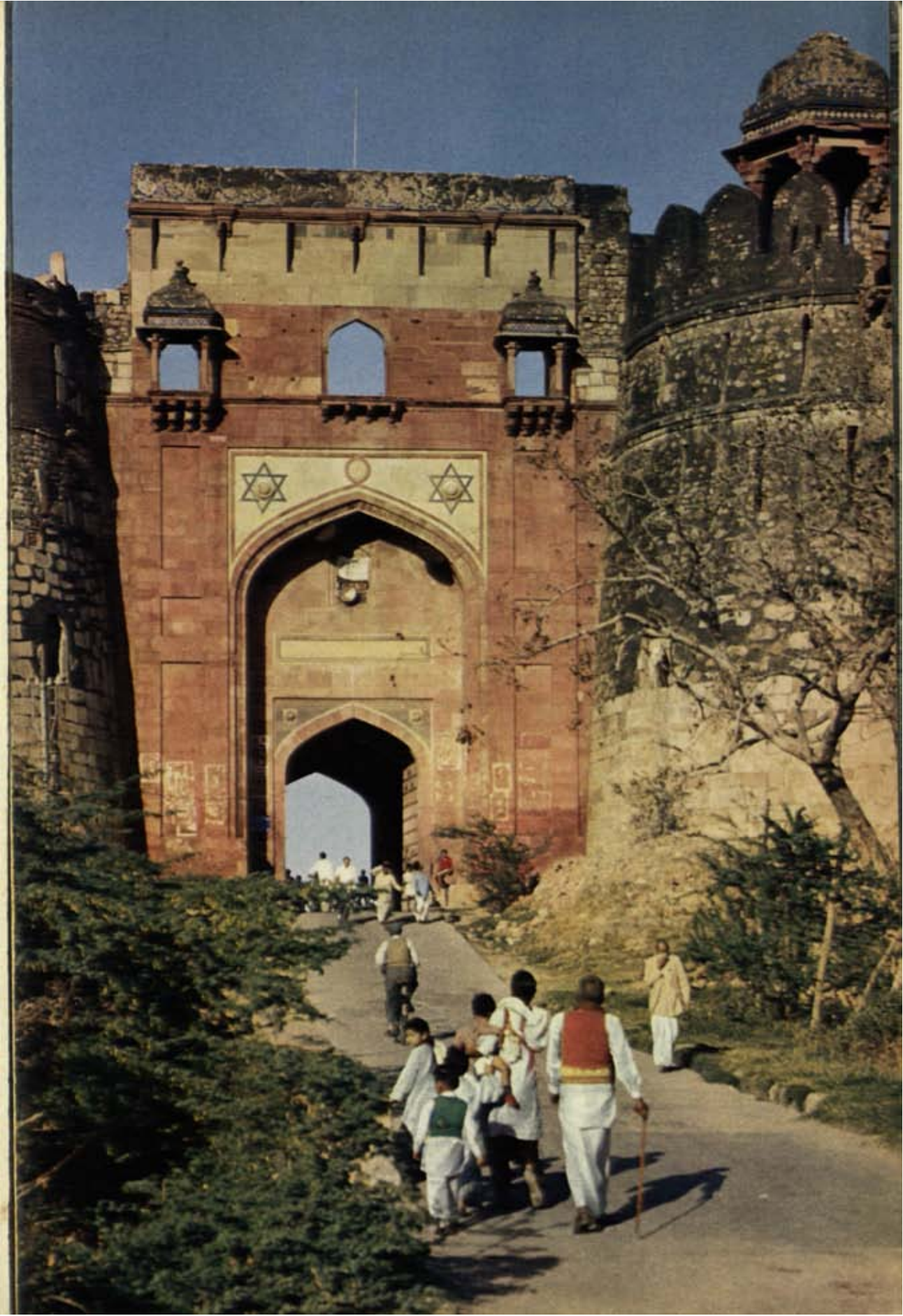
20. Sish-Gumbad

21. Bara Gumbad, Masjid

22. Mausoleum Isa Khan

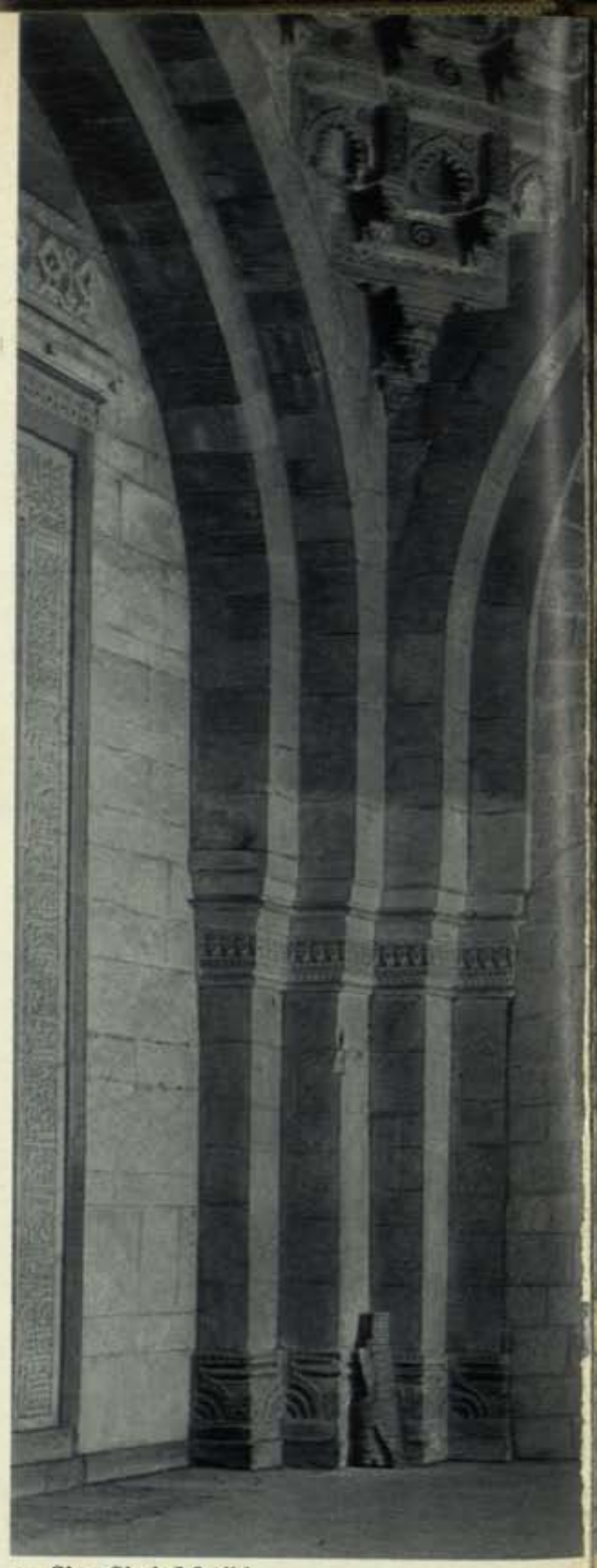
23. Mausoleum Isa Khan, Masjid

24. Purana Qila

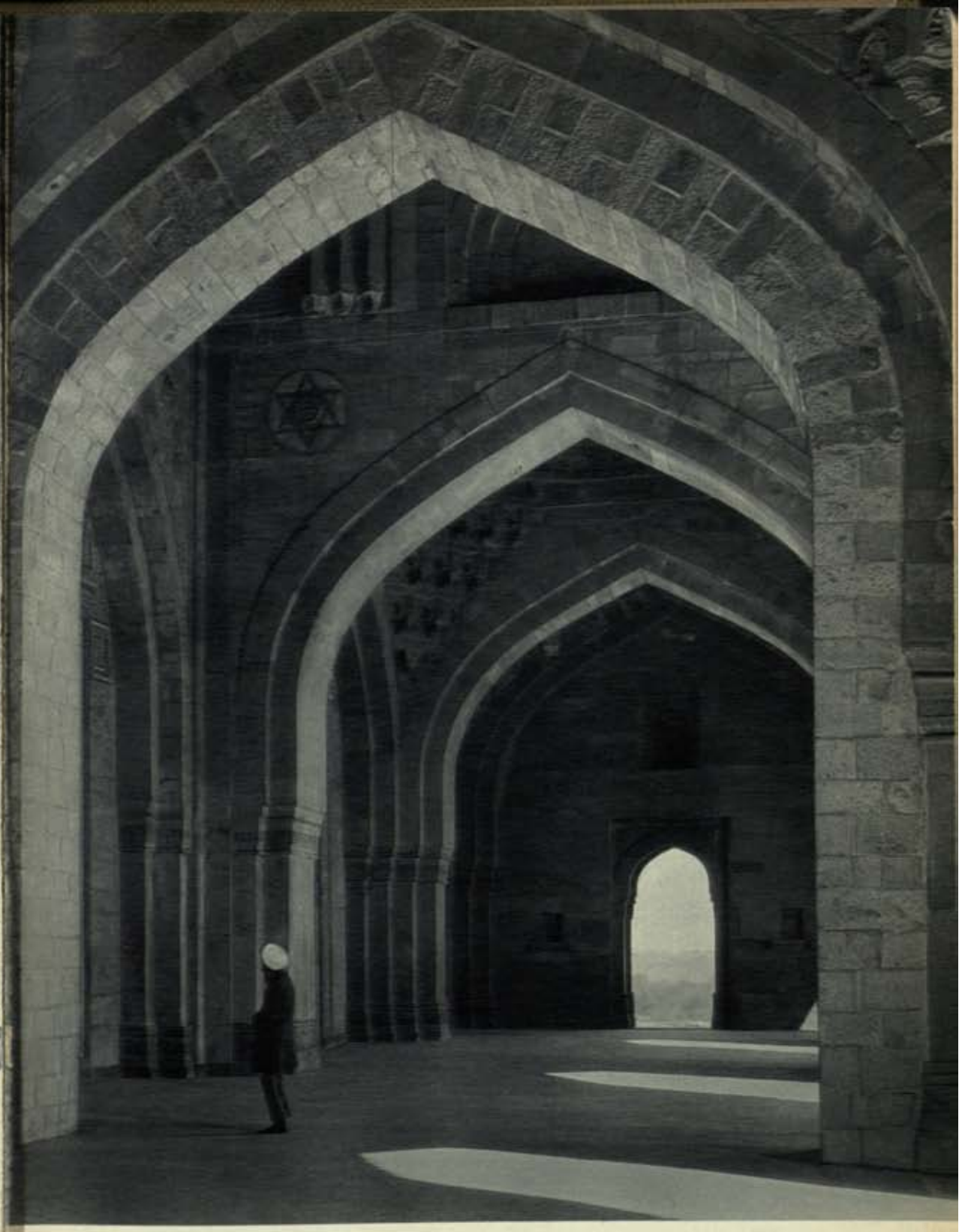


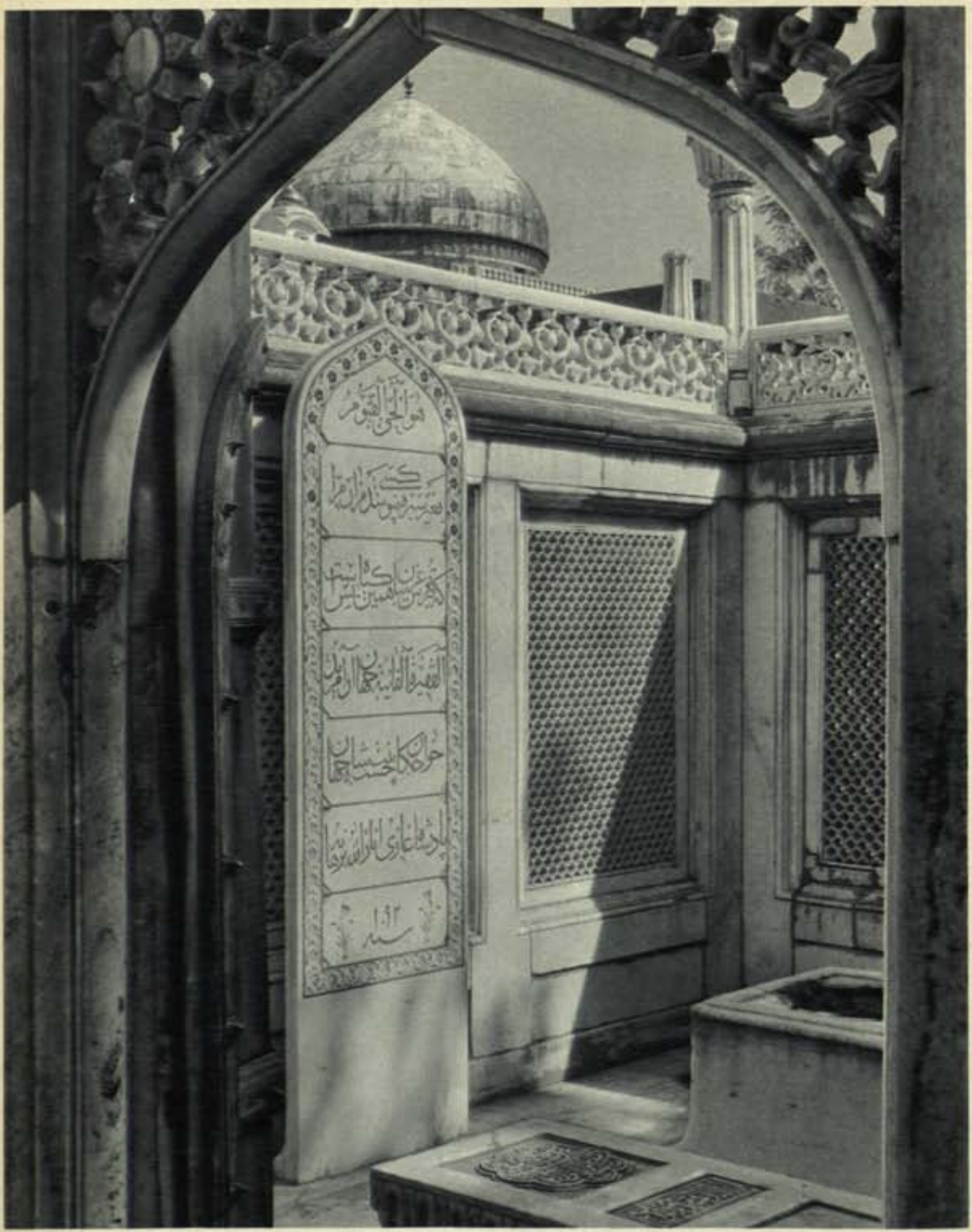
25. Old Delhi. Sher Shah Masjid

26. Sher Mandal



27. Sher Shah Masjid





28. Old Delhi. Jahanara Begam

29. Dargah Nizam-ud-din Aulia

30.

31. Old Delhi. Lat of Asoka, Kotla of Firoz Shah

32. Suraj Khund

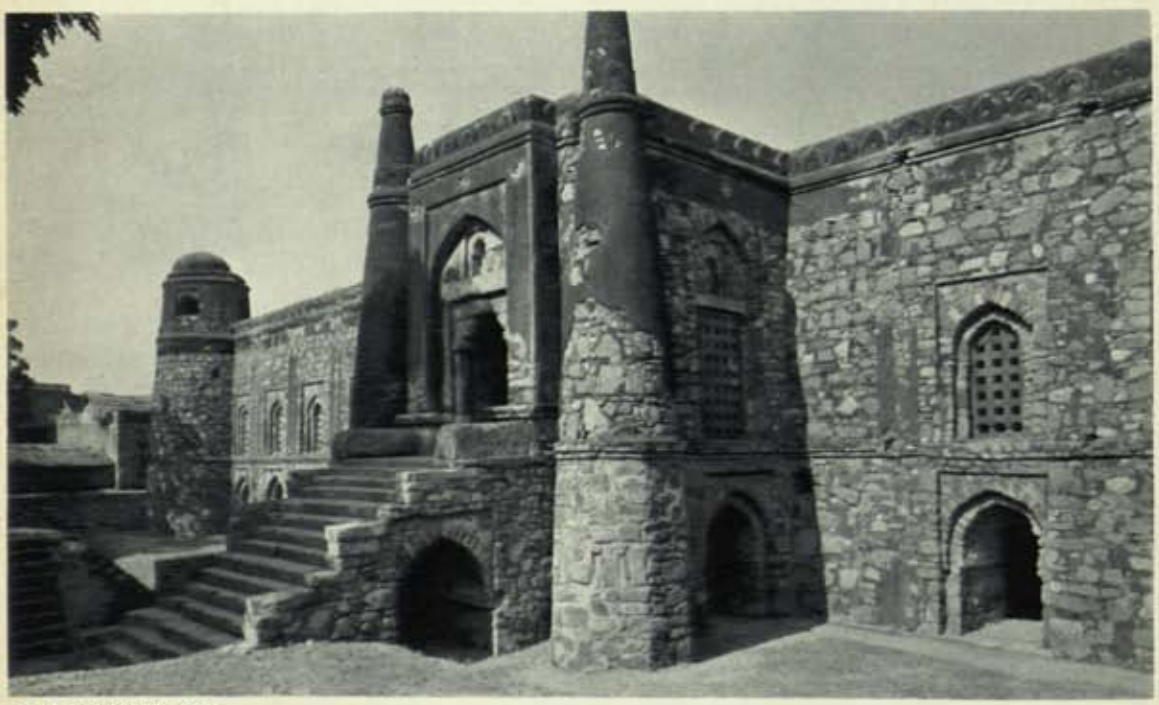
33.

34. Old Delhi. Mausoleum Humayun

35. Mausoleum Safdar Jang

36. Mausoleum Humayun

37. Old Delhi. Khirki Masjid



38. Khirki Masjid

SHAHJAHANABAD, DELHI

After the departure of the court, Delhi led the existence of a provincial town in the shadow of its monuments. Travellers were always struck by its air of desolation and ruin; it would have needed an enormous town to fill its extensive walls with life. The past weighed overpoweringly upon it, and monarchs returned from time to time only in order to participate in its fame as the seat of the highest authority.

The great Akbar was followed by his son, Salim, who took the name Jahangir. His father, whom he loved, hated, and admired, had been much troubled by his son's rebellion, just as later Salim was to be troubled by his own son, Shah Jahan, and he in turn by his son Aurangzeb. Jahangir was addicted to opium and wine, and later on left the government in the hands of his beautiful and able wife, Nur Jahan, also called Nur Mahal. The vast empire was held together with difficulty. But he was a highly cultured man, and thanks to his support it was a time when the arts, especially painting, were able to flourish. His favourite residence was Lahore, where he lies buried. His successor, Shah Jahan, came to the throne in 1628 when he was thirty-six years old. He staged savage insurrections against his father, and owed his life to nothing but the latter's leniency. He outwitted his

brother who had a better claim to the throne, and his nephew, who had already been declared emperor, was strangled at his command.

There was now scarcely anything left in the imperial line that suggested the foreign conqueror. Under the tolerant Akbar, intermarriage with native princely families had become common, and Shah Jahan himself was of noble Hindu Rajput blood through his father's mother and his own mother, thus being three-quarters Hindu.

Shah Jahan has the reputation of being the greatest builder among the emperors of India. His passion was building, and he was more interested in it than any of his predecessors had been. During the long period of peace following the Deccan wars of his first years, he was able to indulge his passion almost to the limit. He was especially interested in making his own court as brilliant as possible, and in this, the fine finish of every detail was as important as the appearance of the whole; only seldom did he attempt to create a monumental effect through mere massiveness, and then only as well-placed emphasis. Side by side with the red sandstone of the neighbourhood, which had already been used for so many other buildings, white marble began to be extensively used, and the marble quarry of Makrana in Rajputana was exploited to a hitherto unknown extent. An army of skilled stonemasons worked on the marble slabs, carving delicate flower patterns in low relief. Valuable stones of many colours were collected, to be painstakingly worked into the surface of the marble (*pietra dura*); especially rich decoration of this kind was used for the imperial bath, which at the Moghul court played a similar role to the bed of state in Versailles at the king's levee. The delicate tracery on the shimmering white of the fine stone became characteristic of the palaces and mosques of the great Moghuls, astonishing the visitors from all over the world. The classicism beginning to arise in Europe also made its contribution to the marble splendour of this highest achievement of oriental building craft, which combined Persian and Indian elements into such an elegant and simple form.

Some of the early European travellers, seeing so much marble used, could only imagine that it was the work of Italian master builders. But, apart from some slabs in *pietra dura* behind the throne in the great audience chamber of Delhi, which are unmistakably Italian work, the buildings of Shah Jahan in Agra and Delhi have their own equally characteristic style, which always shows the faultless taste of the art-loving emperor. Indeed, the design of the mosques and tombs was probably brought in from Central and Western Asia, and Persian influence may have received new impetus because of the Persian origin of Shah Jahan's most important adviser, his father-in-law, Asaf Khan; but in general Islamic architec-

ture in India had long become indigenous, and in Delhi had been dominant for centuries. It had become a part of India, like Islam itself, even though Akbar's attempted union with Hinduism remained an Utopian dream, and the existence side by side of two irreconciliable ways of life was part of the destiny of the country.

His court chronicler describes how Shah Jahan devoted a part of his day to his building projects, and this description is probably in accordance with the emperor's own conception of his part as his own chief architect:

> A part of the time he spends in seeing the works of exalted magical artists such as lapidaries, enamellers, etc. The superintendents of the work of royal buildings, in consultation with the wonder-working rare masters, lay before the critical (royal) eye designs of edifices. The royal mind, which is illustrious like the sun, pays full attention to lofty edifices and strong buildings, which, according to the saying 'verily our relics tell of us' speak for a long time with a mute tongue of their master's high magnanimity and sublime fortunes, and for ages to come are memorials of his abiding love of ornamentation and purity. The majority of buildings he designs himself, and in the designs prepared by clever masons after long consideration he makes appropriate alterations and asks proper questions. On the approved design the strong pillar of state and firm arm of sovereignty, Yamin-ud-daulat Asaf Khan, writes explanations of the holy (royal) orders for the guidance of masons and overseers of buildings.

Shah Jahan had already erected a magnificent palace in the Agra Fort, and had begun building the funerary monument for his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal, who had died three years after he came to the throne. In 1638, in the eleventh year of his rule, he chose the neighbourhood of the old capital, Delhi, for his residence, perhaps because the climate of Agra did not suit him, or because he wanted to escape from painful memories of the death of his wife, or simply because his passion for building drove him to erect a second, if anything still more magnificent palace, and to found his own town. He had the district carefully examined from the point of view of climate and suitability for a fortress. In ten years of work the town with the Red Fort, which received the name of Shahjahanabad, was built on the Jumna to the north of Firozabad. This town gradually became known simply as Delhi, and it remains today the town of colourful bazaars and craftsmen, the meeting place of merchants and the goal of the traveller. Masons and craftsmen were assembled from all over the empire, and so much building stone was brought from Agra that normal trade was held up.

A wall five and a half miles long with seven gates surrounds the town, and the central axis is the Street of the Silversmiths, Chandni Chauk, sixty-nine feet broad, which leads from the entrance of the Fort to the Fatehpuri Mosque, founded by one of the emperor's wives. In the tangle of narrow streets there still remains the stern Kalan Masjid or Black Mosque, once a part of Firozabad.

On the Jumna, to the east of the town, the Fort still stands, almost a thousand yards long and half as wide, shut away from the surrounding world by its own wall of red sandstone fifty-two feet high. The visitor enters the courts, halls and gardens of the emperor's residence through the mighty bastion of the Lahore Gate, and what is now a bazaar hall, where once the bodyguard stood on duty. Only a part of the building erected by Shah Jahan for himself and his court fell into ruin under the last Moghul kings or was demolished when British troops were quartered there. Lord Curzon, the founder of a comprehensive system of preservation of monuments in India, forced the military to evacuate by making ruthless use of his viceregal authority, and paved the way for careful restoration; it was still possible to pick out those buildings which were most important and worth preserving. The gardens, once again lovingly cared for, help to give the modern visitor an idea of the incomparable splendour of this royal residence. Certainly, if he expects something like the enormous façade of Versailles, he will be surprised by the intimacy and distinction of the whole layout. It is necessary to imagine the colourful life in the halls and gardens when viewing the marble smoothness and emptiness of this museum of architecture. This life is described in the faithful accounts of European travellers like Tavernier and Bernier, and can be seen depicted in the tiny enchanting works of contemporary miniature painters. We must imagine the hangings of carpets and the silverware, the processions of the great ones of the empire, the groups of musicians, the parades of horses, elephants and other animals in the courtyards, the murmur of the fountains, and the graceful inhabitants of the harem.

If there is a paradise on the face of this earth,
It is this, oh! it is this, oh! it is this!

declares a Persian inscription in the small audience hall. This very exclusive world was opened for appropriate state ceremonies in the Diwan-i-Am, when royalty appeared in person in the raised canopied niche of the pillared hall and sat on the peacock throne, blazing with jewels, to give audience or dispense justice.

Shah Jahan, who had forced his way to the throne without scruples, was obliged in his old age to realize that he could not stand up against the impetuous and

savage attack of his son, Aurangzeb. In the year 1658, when he had just finished his last and greatest building, the Jami Masjid at Delhi, with its three shining marble domes, he became seriously ill. The Frenchman, Tavernier, gossiped about the reason for this illness – repeating what he had probably heard at the court of Aurangzeb – and the account he gives does not fit the moving story of the emperor faithful unto death to his beautiful Mumtaz Mahal. Much else leads us to assume that the art-loving monarch in his luxurious apartments had experienced almost every pleasure in life. Tavernier writes:

> In his old age he became enamoured of a young maiden twelve or thirteen years old, whose uncommon beauty charmed him. And since his strength was not equal to his desire, he made use of love potions of such potency that they brought upon him a sickness that brought him almost to the grave. For this reason he was obliged to remain two or three months in his harem among his women-folk.

So the rumour started that he was dead, and Aurangzeb, who had already put aside the brothers who were nearer than himself to the throne, took possession of the palace in the general confusion and had himself declared emperor. No hand was raised to help the man who had given his people peace and plenty, for thirty years, to an extent seldom seen in India. As a prisoner he was sent down the Jumna by boat to await the end of his days in his palace of Agra, cared for by his daughter Jahanara.

Aurangzeb, the sixth and last of the great Moghul emperors, ruled with inexorable authority. His father's good-natured view of life was foreign to him, and the tolerance of his great-grandfather Akbar was an outrage. Since the time of Sikandar Lodi the kingdom of Delhi had not had a ruler who was such a religious fanatic, destroying the temples of the unbelievers wherever he saw them. The Sikh leader who obstinately resisted conversion, Guru Tegh Bahadur, and his followers, were executed in the year 1675; the shrine of Sisganj Gurdwara in the centre of the town commemorates the place where the sentence was carried out, and is a meeting place of the very exclusive and active Sikh group in India's capital. In the palace the exquisite little Pearl Mosque, built as his private place of worship by Aurangzeb himself immediately after he had seized power, reminds us of his strict adherence to all the rules of his faith. But in any case he hardly had time for the pleasures of life. He had to occupy himself with unending wars in various parts of his empire, the arts declined, and forebodings of his downfall destroyed his peace of mind. When he was a tired old man he wrote for his son

a testament full of contrition for what he considered to be his failure to serve his God faithfully, and his great laxity towards himself and others. So ended the story of the great Moghul emperors, begun so violently and auspiciously with Babur: in self-accusation and the fear of eternal judgement.

In 1707, the year of Aurangzeb's death, three successors took turns on the throne, about which the struggles were unceasing. The throne itself became less and less important. The sixth Great Moghul after Aurangzeb, Farruk-siyar, made a name for himself by taking prisoner the Sikh leader, Guru Banda Govind and seven hundred and forty of his followers, in the year 1717, parading them through the streets of Delhi and then having them all executed, following the famous example of Aurangzeb.

In the year 1749 the emperor of Persia, Nadir Shah, entered Delhi, partly as a conqueror and partly by invitation of the feeble Great Moghul, Mohammed Shah. When the inhabitants stoned him and attacked his followers, the Persian permitted his soldiery to massacre, plunder and burn for a while, and then withdrew with huge booty, among it, in his own baggage, the peacock throne with all its precious stones.

In the year 1757 it was the turn of the ruler of Herat and Afghanistan, Amad Shah Abdali, to plunder, and after him the warlike Marathas continually harassed the ruler of Delhi. However, the aura surrounding the Great Moghul was still so awe-inspiring that neither of these victorious Hindus dared to take the crown for himself. During the occupation of 1760, the Maratha leader, Rao Sahib, had the silver taken from the roof of the great hall of audience, and the tombs and shrines that the Afghans and Persians had not touched were now ruthlessly robbed.

On 11 September 1803 new actors appeared on the historic stage of Delhi: the English, who long ago had gained footholds in Madras and Bengal, now overpowered the Maratha garrison, and in the Diwan-i-Khas of the Red Fort, the blind old Shah, Alam II, received General Lake. The British, too, respected the dignity of the ruler of Delhi; but now he really was a shadow king. All that remained to him was his title, his palace, and a pension given by the new rulers.

India had known many conquerors, but this was the first time that it was to be governed by those from a far land, first a company and then a queen, who made no attempt to become Indian themselves in any way. At the height of British imperialism in India its most important representatives, like Lord Curzon, emphasized the transient nature of their mission and the conviction that what the far-sighted among them conceived to be a great experiment in education, would one day come to an end.

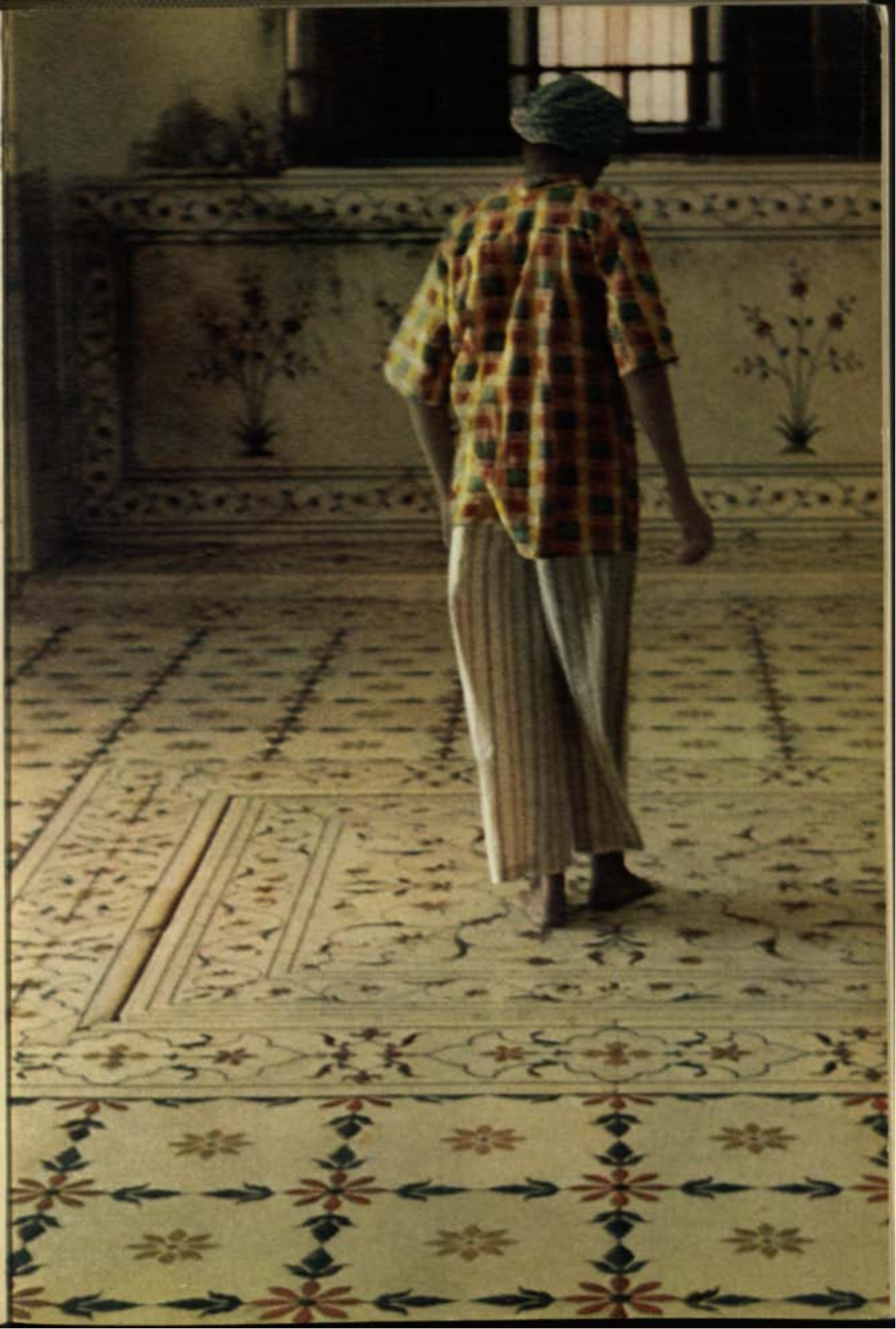
The superiority of the Europeans in war and the administration of government enabled them to end the rivalries of principalities and races; the *Pax Britannica* began to spread itself over the whole of the subcontinent, extending further than all the former kingdoms, and a new order in public life emerged. Nothing appeared to shake the coolly superior, incorruptible white rulers, who kept themselves apart from the good as well as the bad in Indian life. But on 10 May 1857 in Meerut, forty-five miles from Delhi, native soldiers of the Indian Army, Hindus and Moslems, mutinied on apparently trivial grounds. The sepoys, who had got rid of their British officers, entered Delhi, where the population received them enthusiastically. Those Englishmen who could be seized were murdered, and the uprising, the famous Mutiny, spread like a forest fire. Soon a revolutionary army of fifty to seventy thousand men gathered in Delhi, the aged Bahadur Shah was proclaimed emperor and his sons took over leading positions of command. Delhi was at the centre of a national upheaval.

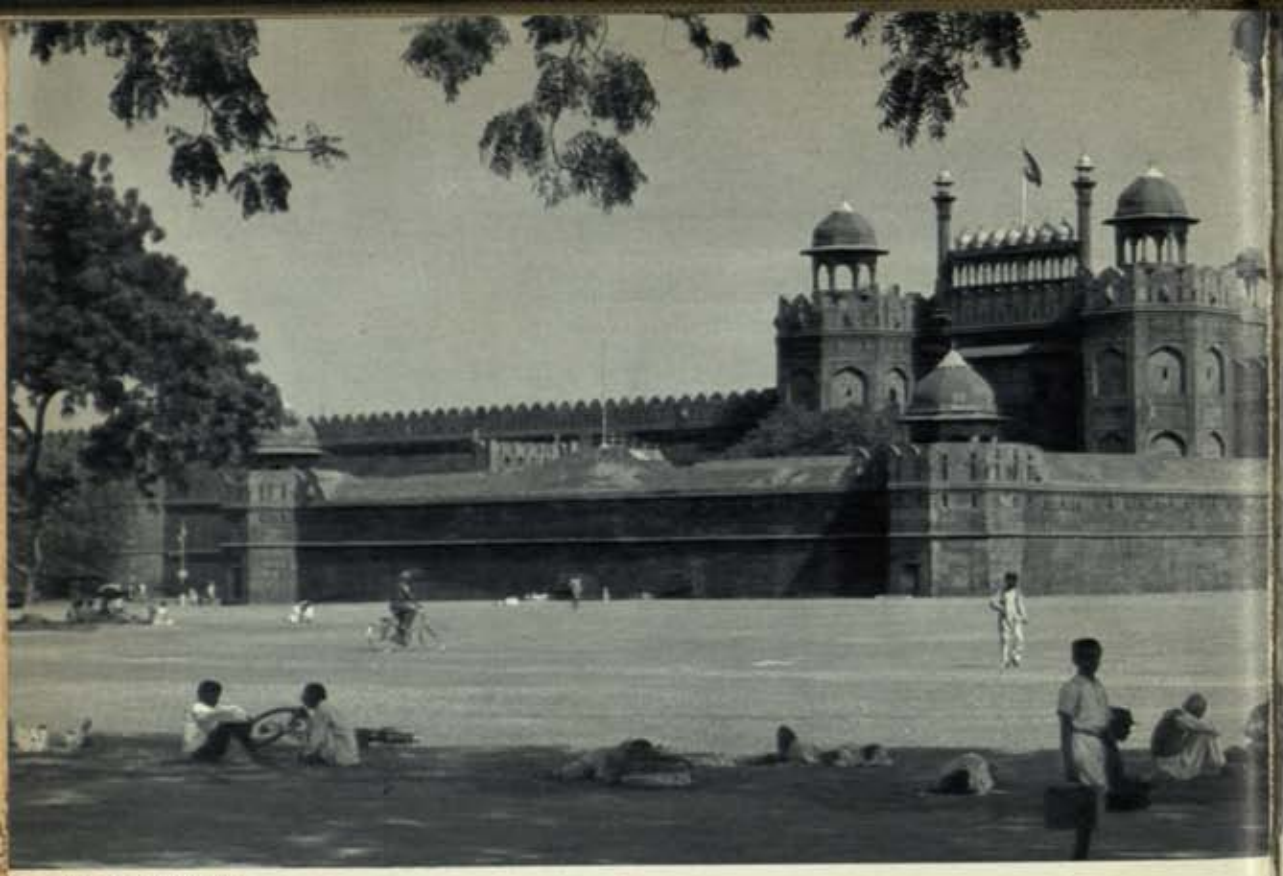
The conquest of Delhi by a relatively small British army, with the collapse of the revolt that had started with such passionate enthusiasm, is one of the most remarkable incidents in the long history of the town. How could it happen that a great nation which had already given innumerable proofs of wisdom and courage should permit itself not only to be militarily overcome by a handful of foreigners, but also, its anger quickly evaporating, to allow itself to be led by them for almost a century? The time for self-determination had not yet come.

The unfortunate last Great Moghul fled to the tomb of his ancestor, Humayun, and there gave himself up after he had been promised that his life would be spared. His sons were shot down by the accompanying English officer when the population prepared to demonstrate.

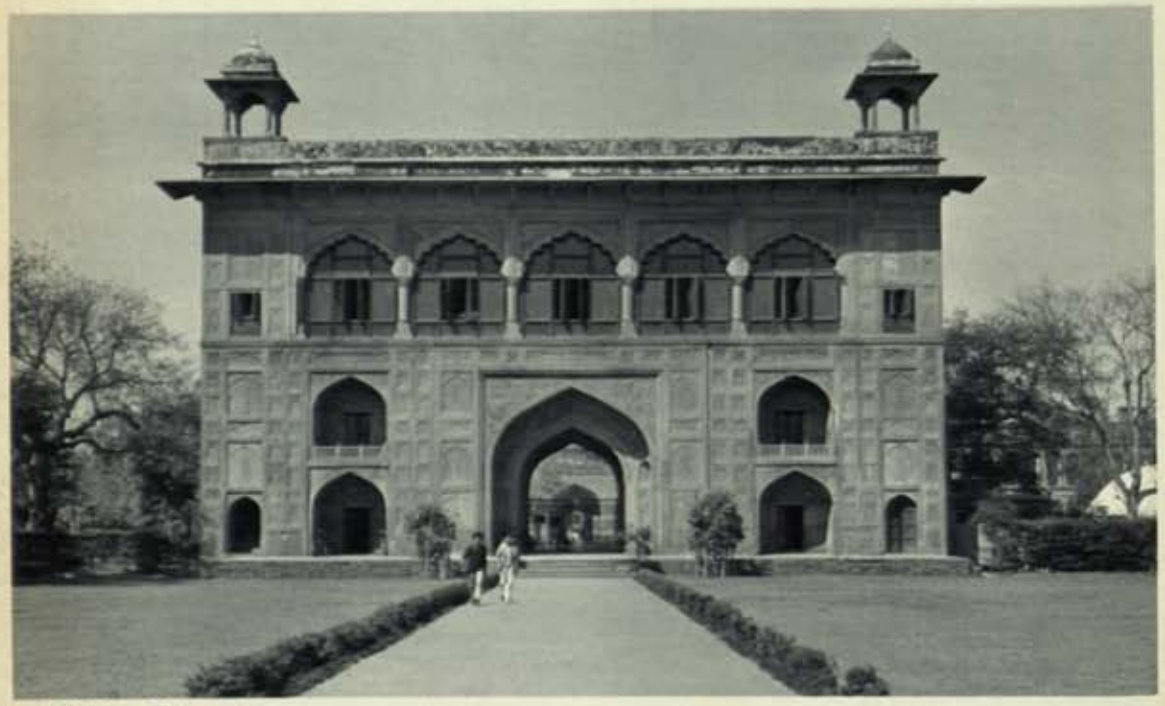
Bahadur Shah had been reluctant to take over his role as a hero, since he was at his happiest discussing poetry and the other arts. The German traveller, Leopold von Orlich, in a letter to Alexander von Humboldt in February 1843, gave a not very attractive picture of the puppet king, describing him as quarrelsome, lascivious and vain. But in the memory of the people he lives on as the revered last of his line, the last great imperial house, the benevolent old poet, who in 1864 died far from his beloved Delhi, in banishment in Rangoon. On the hundredth anniversary of his death, the leaders of the Republic of India gathered in the Diwan-i-Am of the Red Fort, with a multitude of distinguished guests, to commemorate him with performances of the arts that he so loved.

39. Delhi Fort. Hammam





40. Delhi Fort



41. Nakkar Khana

42. Diwan-i-Am

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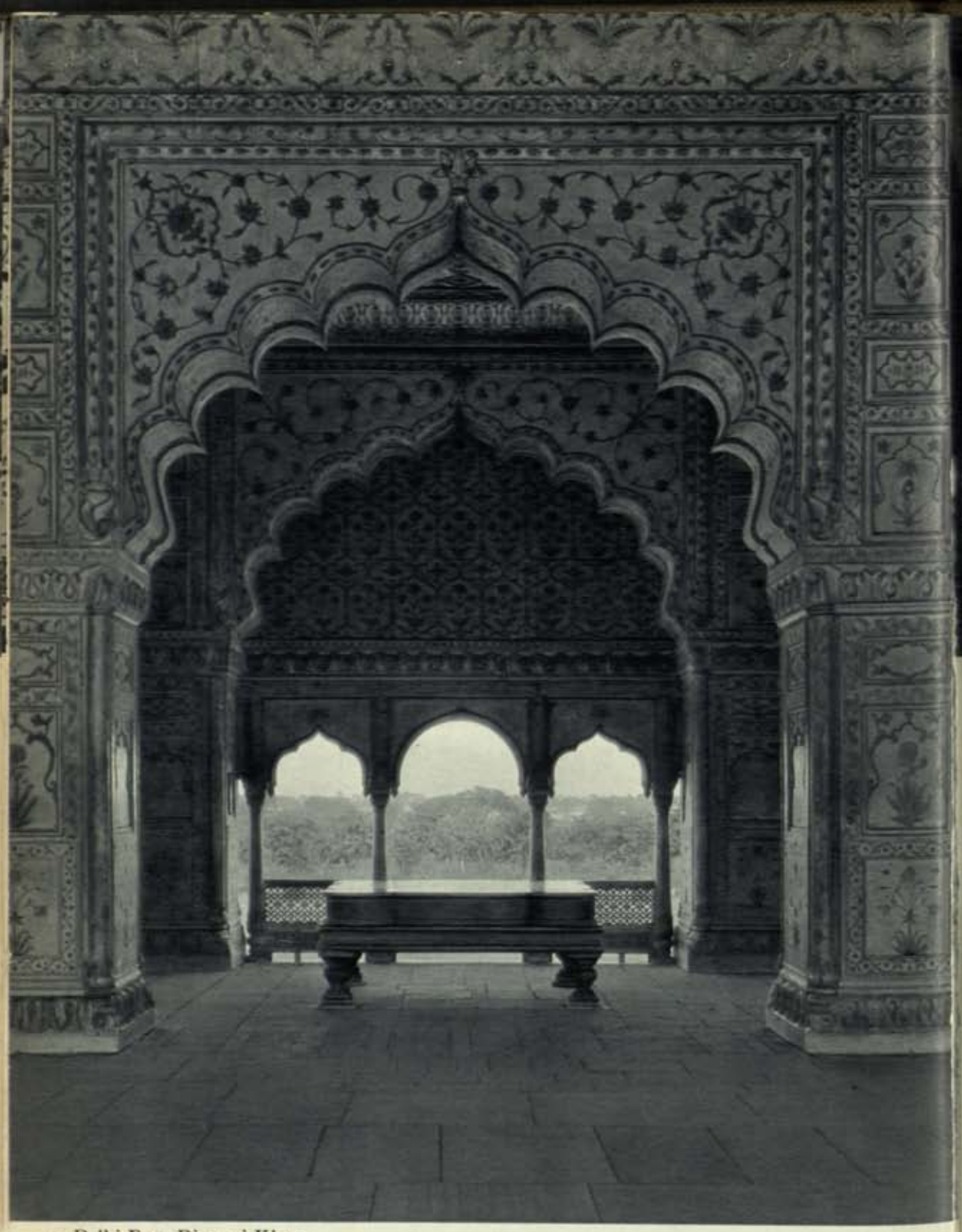
43. Delhi Fort. Diwan-i-Am

44. Diwan-i-Am

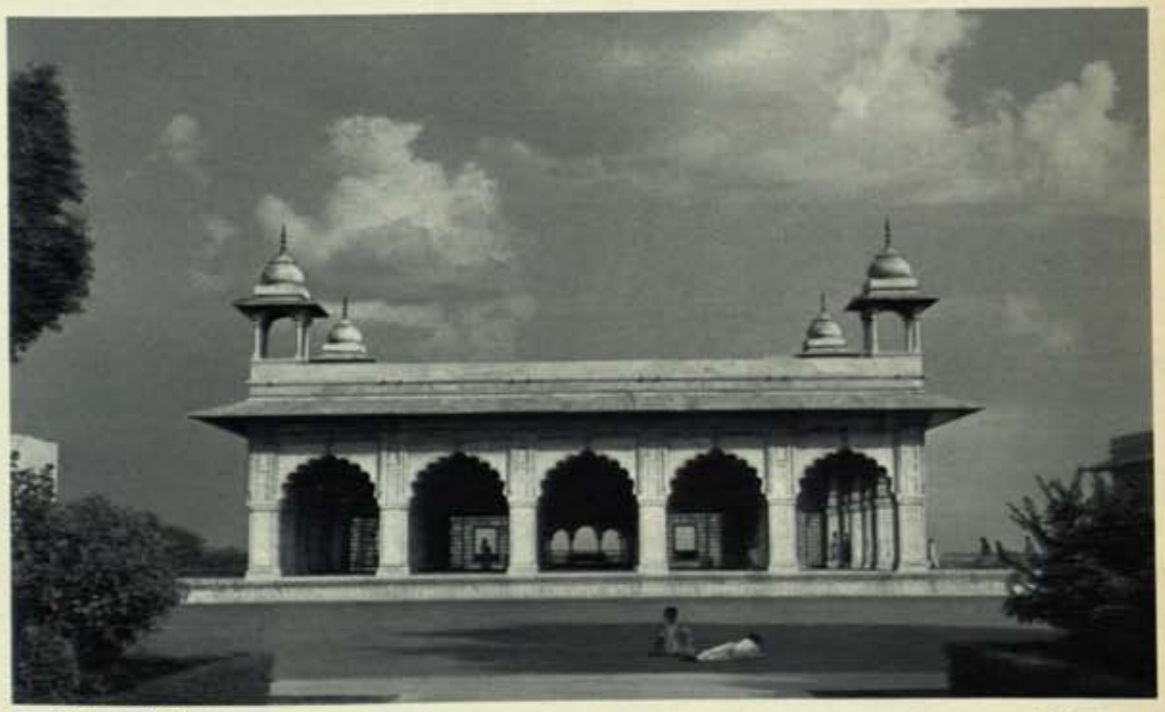
45. Diwan-i-Am

46. Rang Mahal



49. Delhi Fort. Diwan-i-Khas

50. Diwan-i-Khas



51. Diwan-i-Khas

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52. Delhi Fort. Moti Masjid

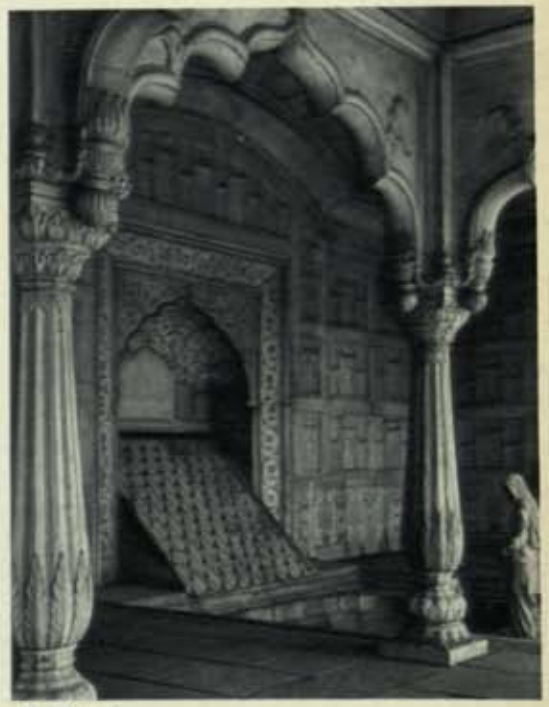
53. Hira Mahal

54. Bhadon

55. Diwan-i-Khas, Moti Masjid

56. Moti Masjid

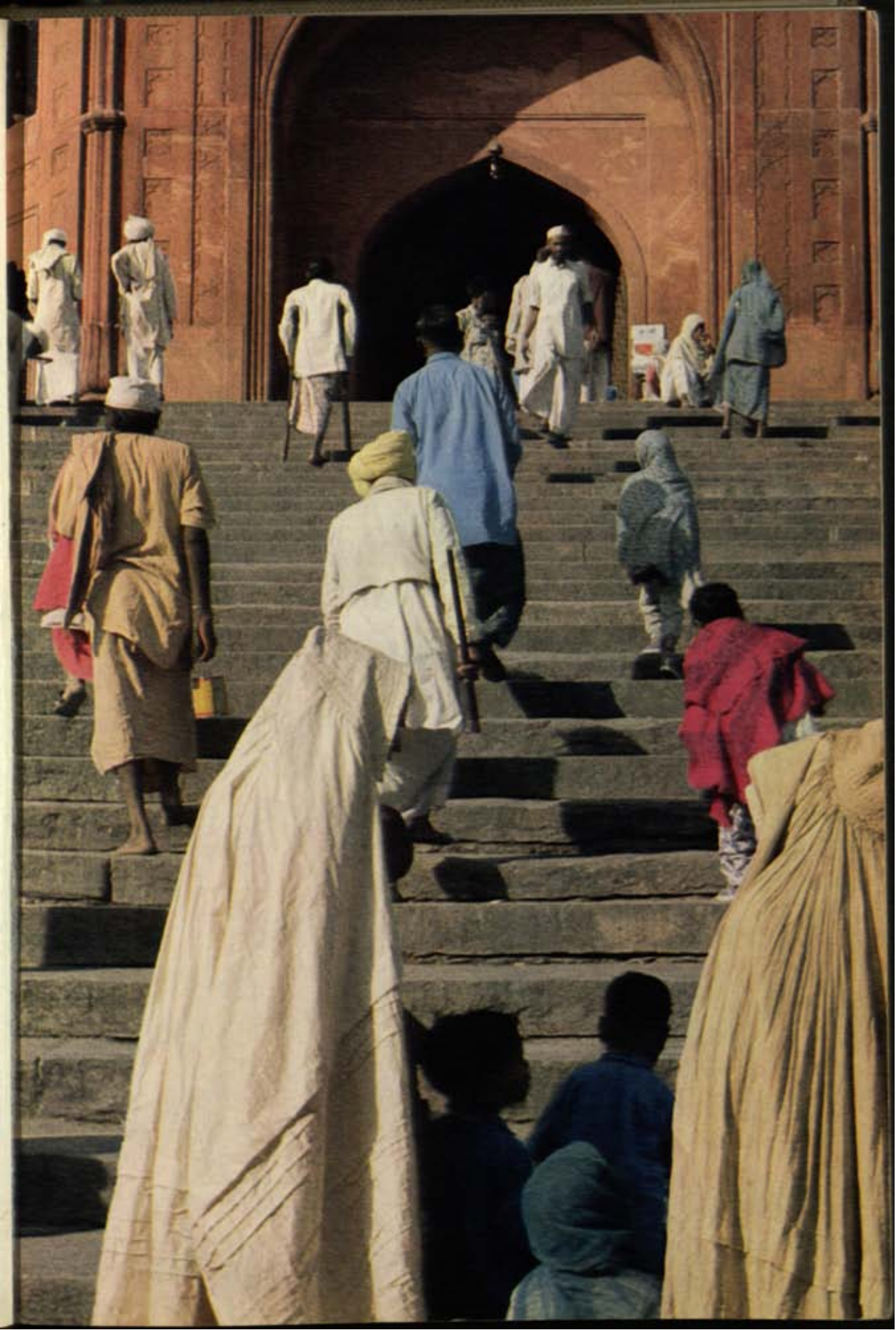
57. Moti Masjid



58. Bhadon

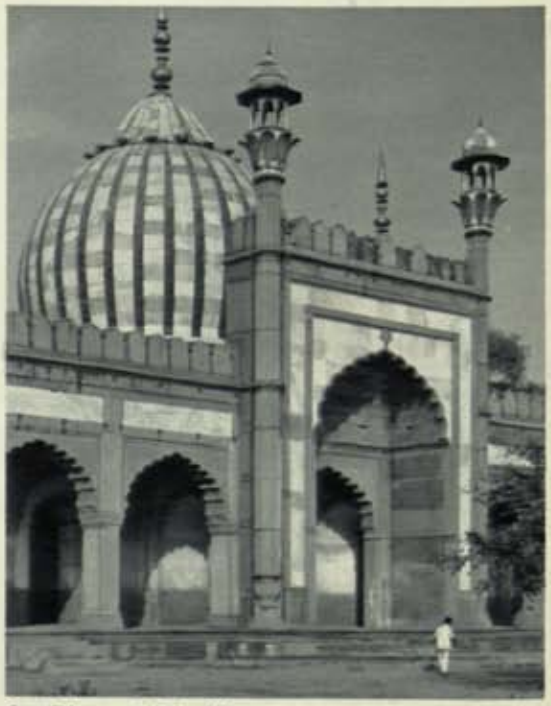
59. Delhi. Kalan Masjid

60. Jami Masjid



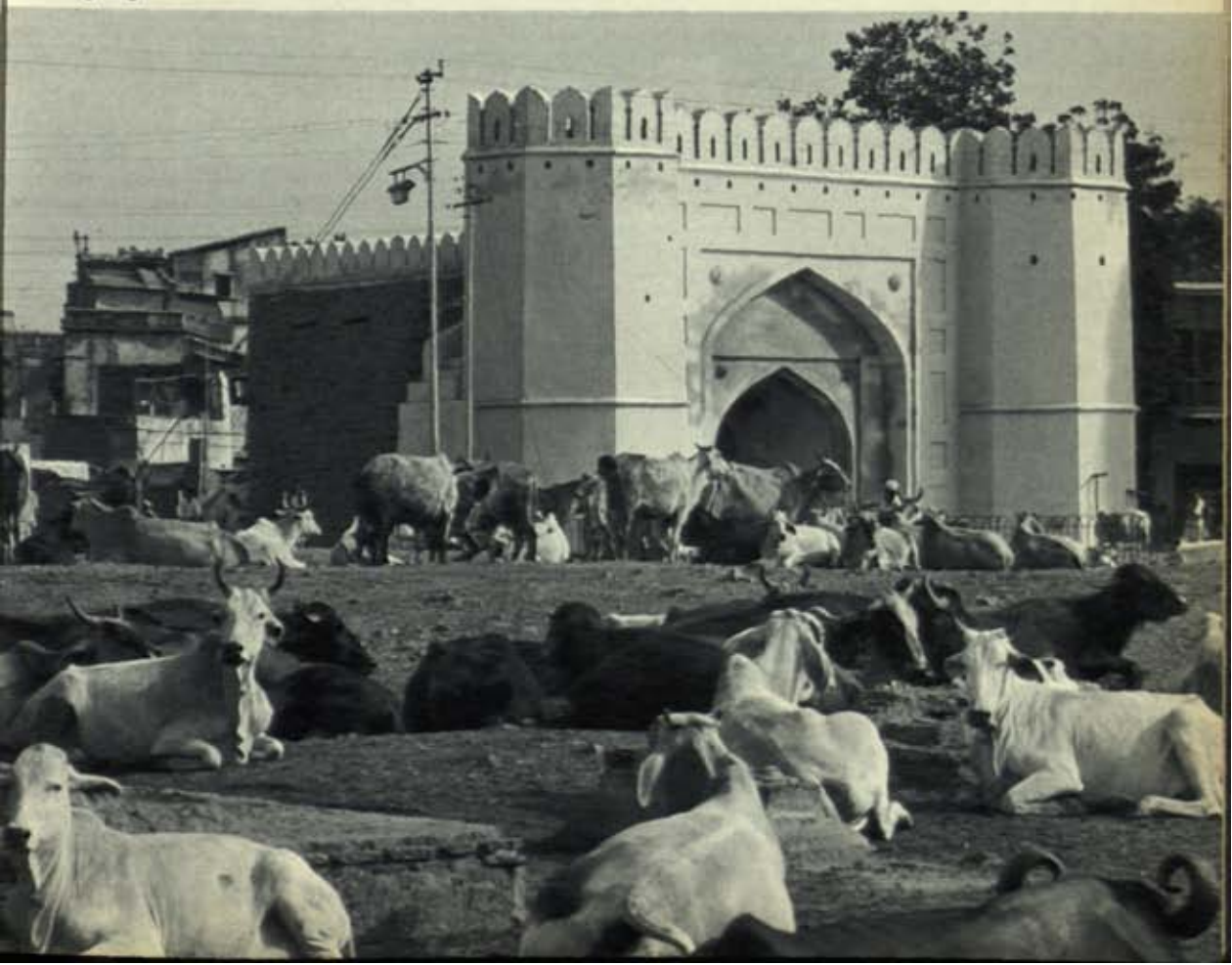
61. Delhi. Jami Masjid

62. Fatehpuri Masjid



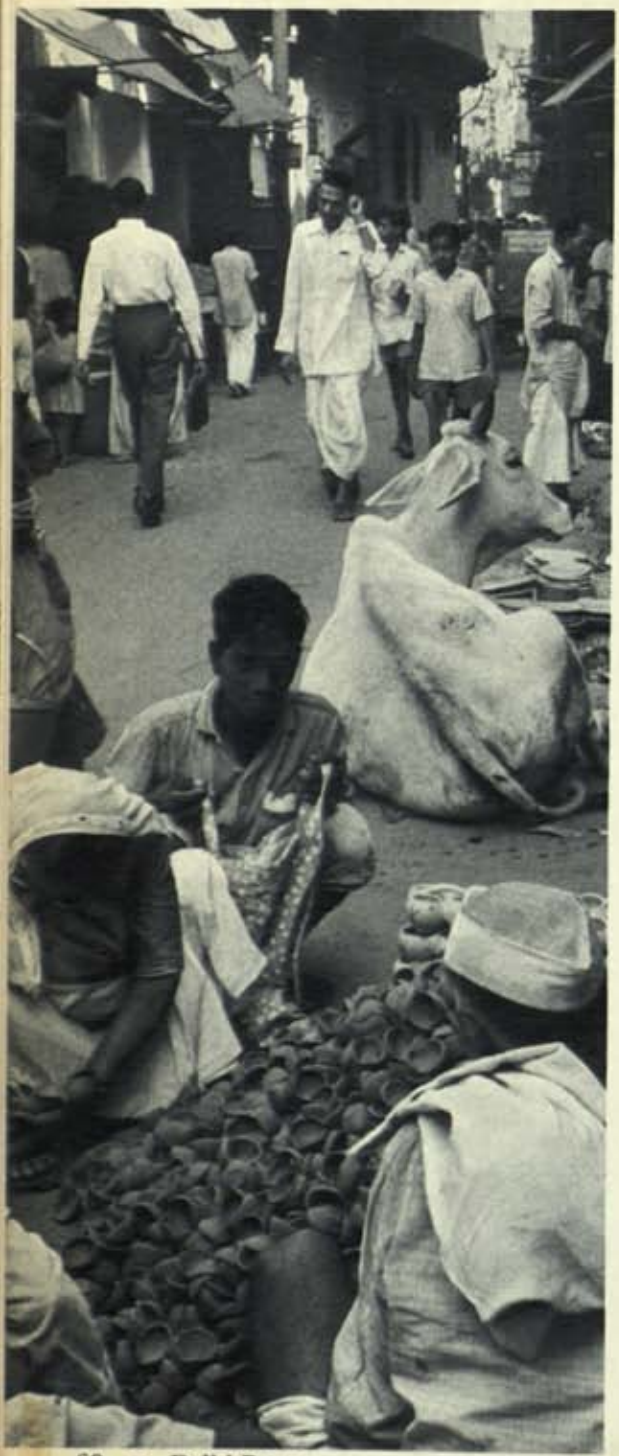
63. Zinat-ul-Masjid

64. Delhi-Gate
65. Ajmir-Gate



66. Delhi. Jantar Mantar

67. Sisganj Gurdwara



68.–70. Delhi Bazars

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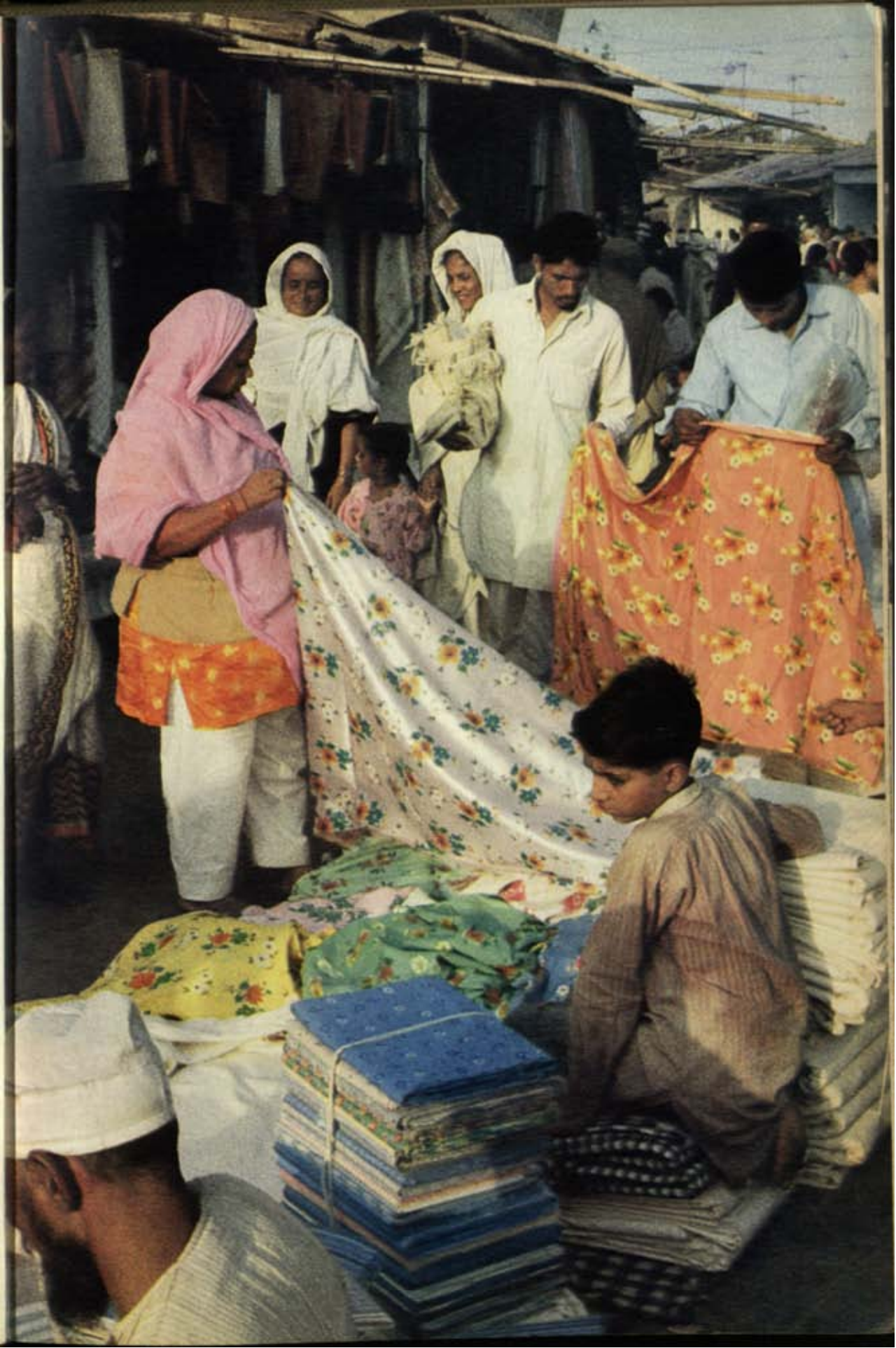
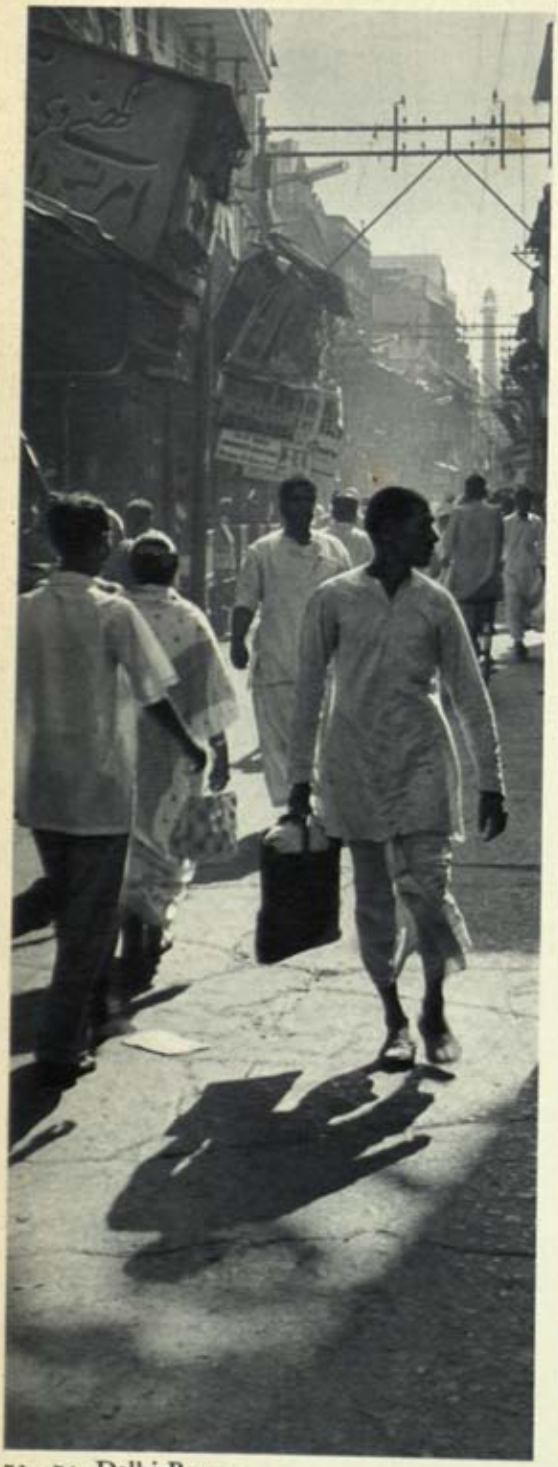
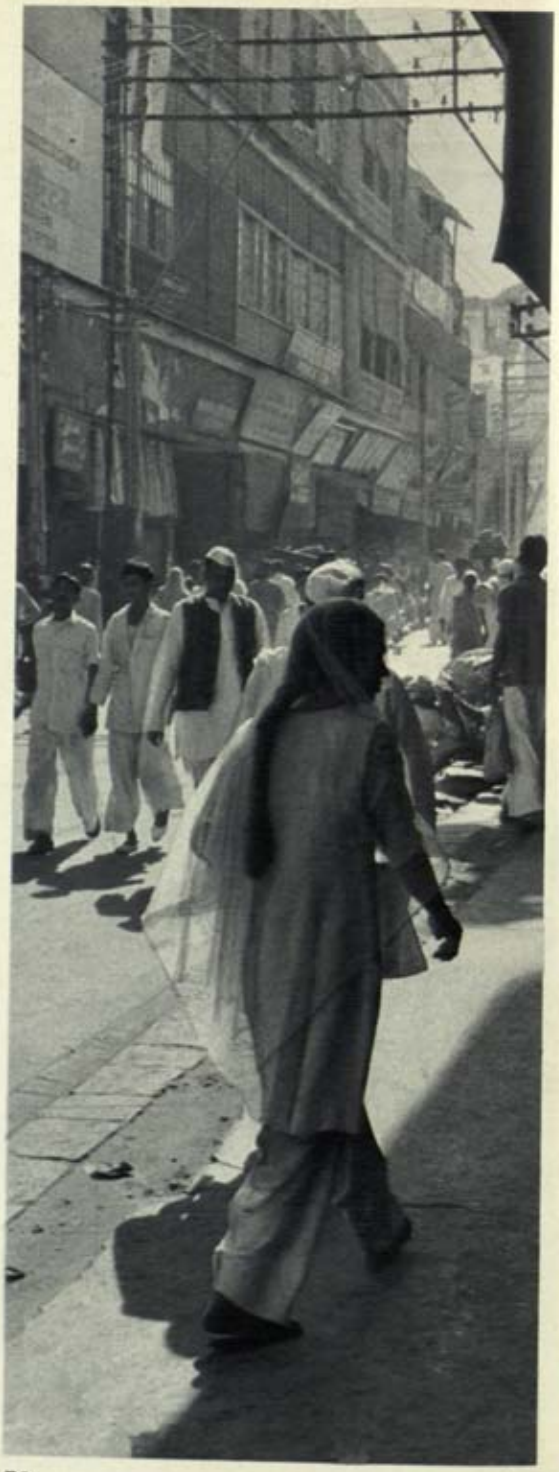




71.–74. Delhi Bazars



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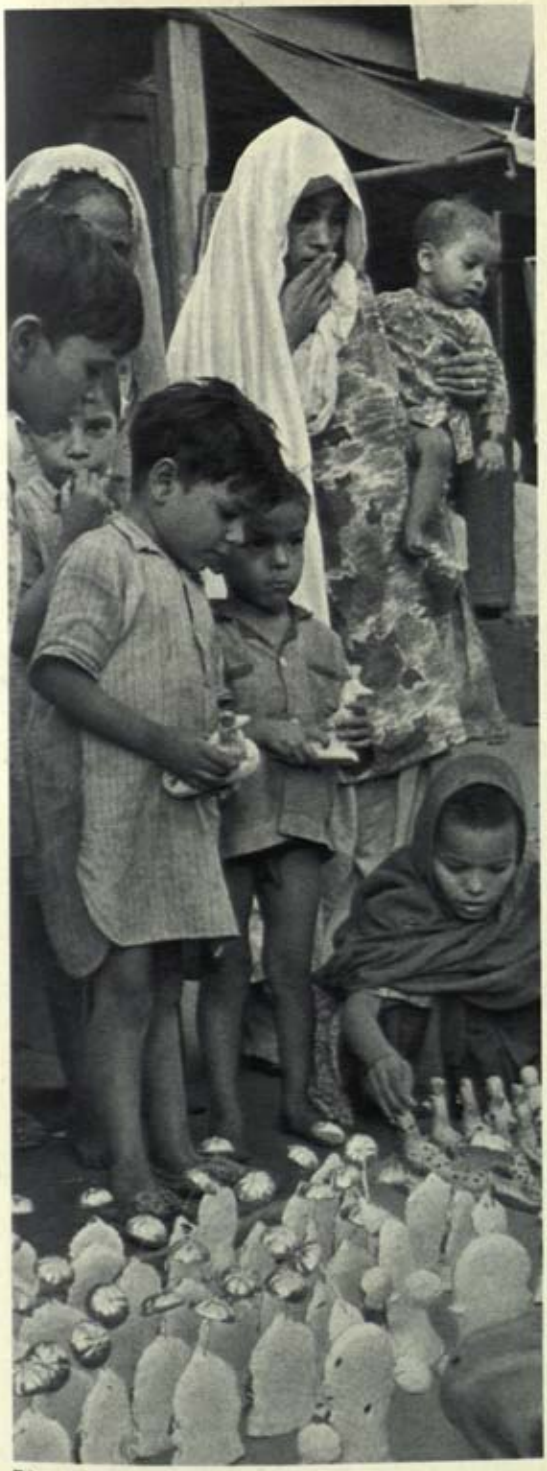

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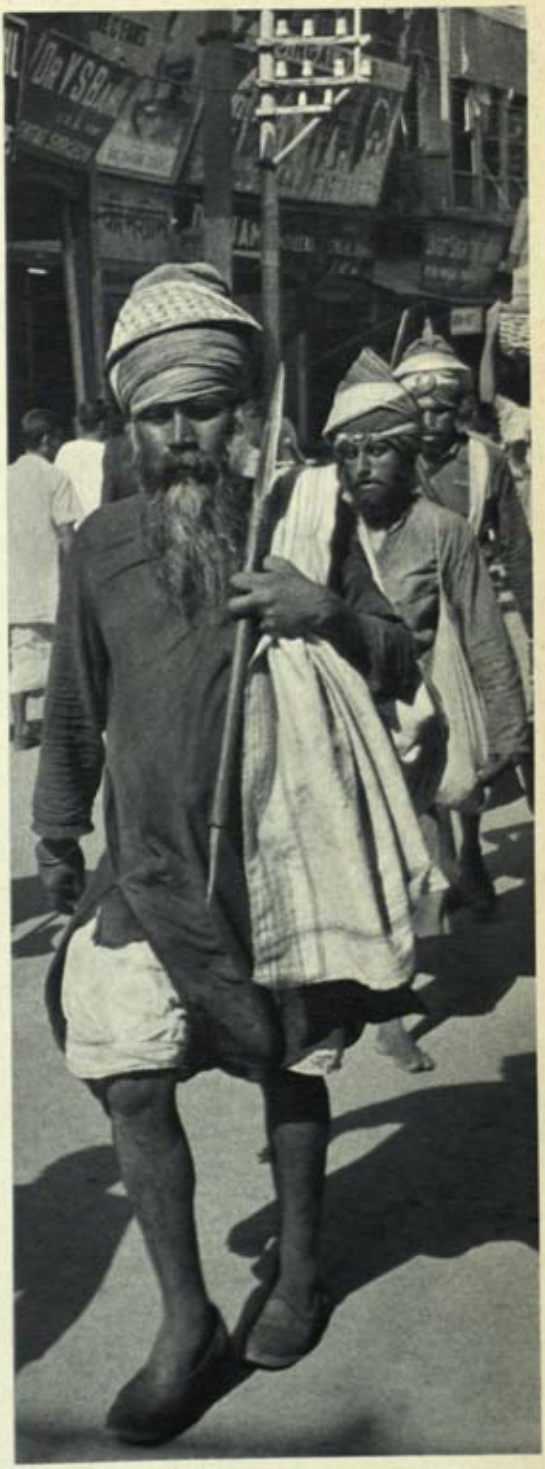

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75.–76. Delhi Bazars

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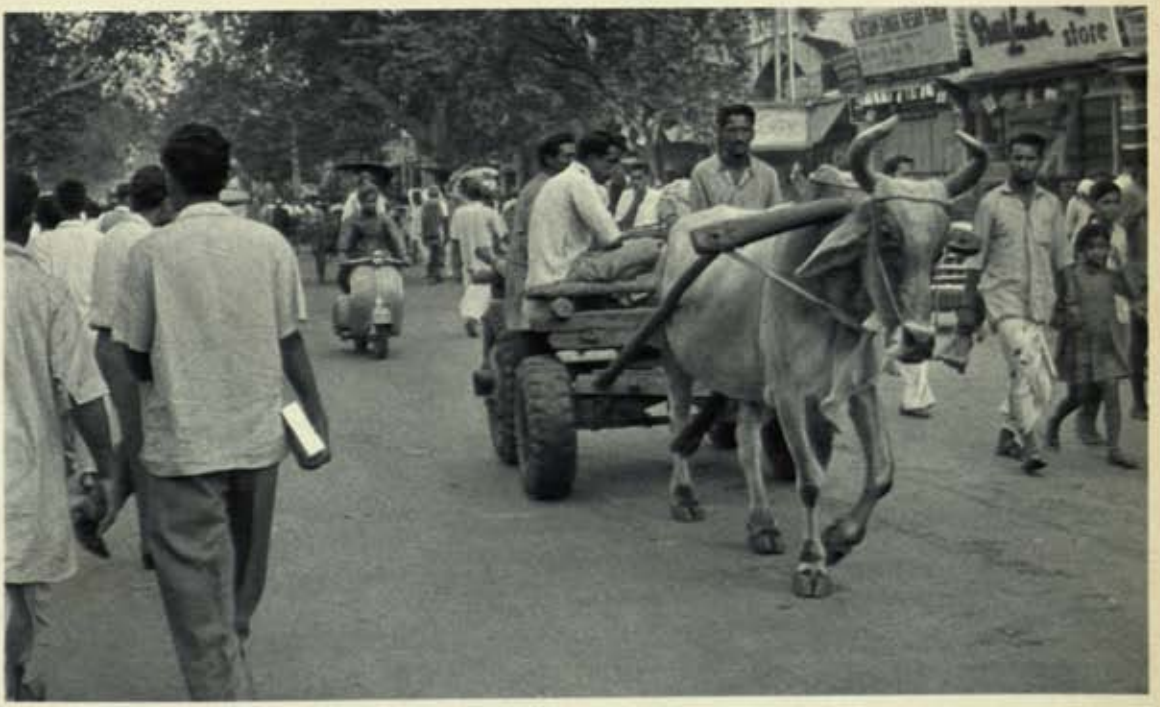
77. Delhi



78. Delhi. Chandni Chauk

79. Circuit House (Delhi University)

80. Delhi. The old Secretariat

NEW DELHI

After the mutiny was suppressed the victors inflicted a harsh punishment upon Delhi. The whole population had to leave the town, and while the Hindus were soon permitted to come back, the Mohammedans were not allowed to do so for some time. The thickly populated district between the Fort and the town wall was levelled to the ground in order to make the defence of the fortress easier. The number of inhabitants, barely 150,000 when the English came to power in 1803, and little more than that before the mutiny, soon reached this total again, but rose only slowly to 208,000 in the year 1901, in strong contrast to the great ports of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Delhi remained a provincial town, while in Calcutta, the seat of the Governor General, large sections of the town were laid out in classical colonial style. Yet it was in the historic town of Delhi that Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on 1 January 1877, and in the previous year at a banquet held in the Diwan-i-Khas in the Red Fort, the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, had proposed the toast to the sovereign.

In December 1911, for the first and only time, a ruling English monarch came to India to be crowned Emperor in Delhi. Everybody who was anybody in the Empire gathered on the plain to the north of the town for the Coronation Durbar,

and paid homage to the royal pair. On this occasion, George V announced that from now on Delhi would be the residence of the Viceroy, and that a new town would arise there as the administrative centre of the country: the eighth Delhi, a monument to the British Raj. 'It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected be considered with the greatest deliberation and care so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city.'

The administration of the Empire at first moved to the 'Civil Station' among extensive gardens to the north of Shahjahanabad, where today, among other organizations, the university has its centre. But the area in which New Delhi was to be built was finally selected in the south, between the hills of the Southern Ridge, the ruins of Firozabad and Purana Qila, and the plain by the tomb of Safdar Jang, where today a race course and the smaller of the two airfields of Delhi are situated.

The first place selected by the commission, near the village of Malcha, was turned down by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and like a ruler of ancient times his Excellency himself rode out to search for a more suitable place.

> I then, after rejecting the Malcha site, mounted and asked Hailey [later Lord Hailey, then Commissioner of Delhi] to accompany me to choose a new site, and we galloped over the plain to a hill some distance away. From the top of the hill there was a magnificent view, embracing Old Delhi and all the principal monuments situated outside the town, the Jamuna winding its way like a silver streak in the foreground at a little distance. I said at once to Hailey: 'This is the site for Government House,' and he readily agreed.

It was the Raisina Hill on which Sir Edwin Lutyens and his most important colleague, Herbert Baker, were able to realize their dream of a new Acropolis. Baker especially, having studied Graeco-Roman town design and Indian royal residences, had formed a magnificent conception of the task to be carried out. The New Delhi 'must not be Indian, nor English, nor Roman, but it must be Imperial'.

So arose in noble style the mighty radiating avenues dominated by the palace of the Viceroy, with its white domes and red substructure, built by Lutyens, who planned the city. It is flanked by the giant Secretariat (that is to say, government) offices of Baker, somewhat away from the circular pillared palace of Parliament, with its three chambers. Le Corbusier himself, who, in Chandigarh carried out the architectural ideas of a completely different epoch, did not deny the magni-

ficence of the design, little as he liked the consciously historical style (which he called 'Florentine'), with its attempt to link Indian and European elements. The English town planners certainly did the city a great service in that they created abundant green spaces, parks and gardens.

In 1927, when I stayed in Delhi for the first time, building was in full spate. The Parliament buildings had been opened shortly before, and the sittings could only be distinguished from those of the republican parliament I was to see in the same place thirty years later by the wig worn by the Speaker, with its reminder of Westminster, and the presence of a few Europeans. Indeed, it was not for a long time to come that the Viceroy was to give up his bitterly contested right of veto, and the authority of the British Raj appeared unshaken. But a number of posts, some of them important, were already held by Indians, great progress had been made in turning over the administration and the army to the Indians, who had achieved the right of participation in many spheres, and side by side with the opposition of the Congress Party grew the desire for mutual work for the common good and also a sense of responsibility. In one of the newly built white bungalows I met one of the exponents of this policy of collaboration, the Hindu leader, Pandit Mohan Malaviya, who belonged to the right wing of the Congress Party, together with his friend Birla. The latter was the founder of the great Lakshmi Narayan Temple, which was at last a Hindu place of worship worthy of Delhi.

The mighty main avenue was also already recognizable, leading from the hill upon which the most important state buildings stood, to the War Memorial. This was the street along which ceremonial parades could display the might of the British Raj, and soon after, the pride of a great free nation. The Government Buildings were already partly in use, but the crowning dome of the seat of the highest power was still lacking.

On 15 February 1931 work had progressed far enough for the official opening of the new capital. The empty streets began to be populated, the rows of houses spread ever further, and the pillared arcades of the circular Connaught Place lost its resemblance to London in the confusion of Indian business life. In the year in which Delhi was proclaimed the capital it had 232,837 inhabitants, ten years later the figure was 304,420, in 1931 (always reckoning the Old and New Delhis together), 447,422, by 1941, 695,686, and after another ten years it had already reached one and a half million.

After the end of the Second World War, political events followed closely one upon the other in the capital of India. The cry for self-determination could no

longer be ignored, and the last viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, joined with the leaders of the nation in making the changeover of power.

There is a press photograph dating from this time which shows Lord and Lady Mountbatten entering the viceregal palace with Prime Minister Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi goes last in his scanty clothing, that of a Hindu pilgrim, with his hand on Lady Mountbatten's shoulder, as one would only do with a trusted friend. Thus ended a political struggle that had gone on for decades, sometimes with great bitterness, to the honour of both sides.

But, at first, dark days dawned for Delhi, such as the town had not experienced since the Mutiny. For independence also brought 'partition', the cutting off of the Mohammedan dominion of Pakistan from the dominion of India with its overwhelmingly Hindu population. Religious differences, long suppressed, now flared into open enmity, many thousands were massacred, and streams of refugees poured from one country to the other. In this way Delhi, too, lost part of its Mohammedan population and between the ruins of the Old Delhi and the avenues of the New, hordes of refugees from Pakistan huddled in wretched huts, attracted there by the fame of the capital. The contrast between the conditions in the refugee villages in 1964 with what I had seen in 1958, showed me what a difficult task had been quietly accomplished in order to assimilate this multitude into the economic life of the town.

In the aftermath of partition, there was an event in Delhi on 30 January 1948 which could scarcely have been a greater blow to India: Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the young nation, honoured like a saint and the most peaceful of all revolutionaries, died from a bullet fired by one of his own religion. According to Hindu custom, his corpse was cremated within twenty-four hours, and his ashes were thrown into flowing water. The place of cremation, at Rajghat near the Jumna, has become a national place of pilgrimage, and fresh flowers are placed on it daily to show the visitors' love for and gratitude to this extraordinary man.

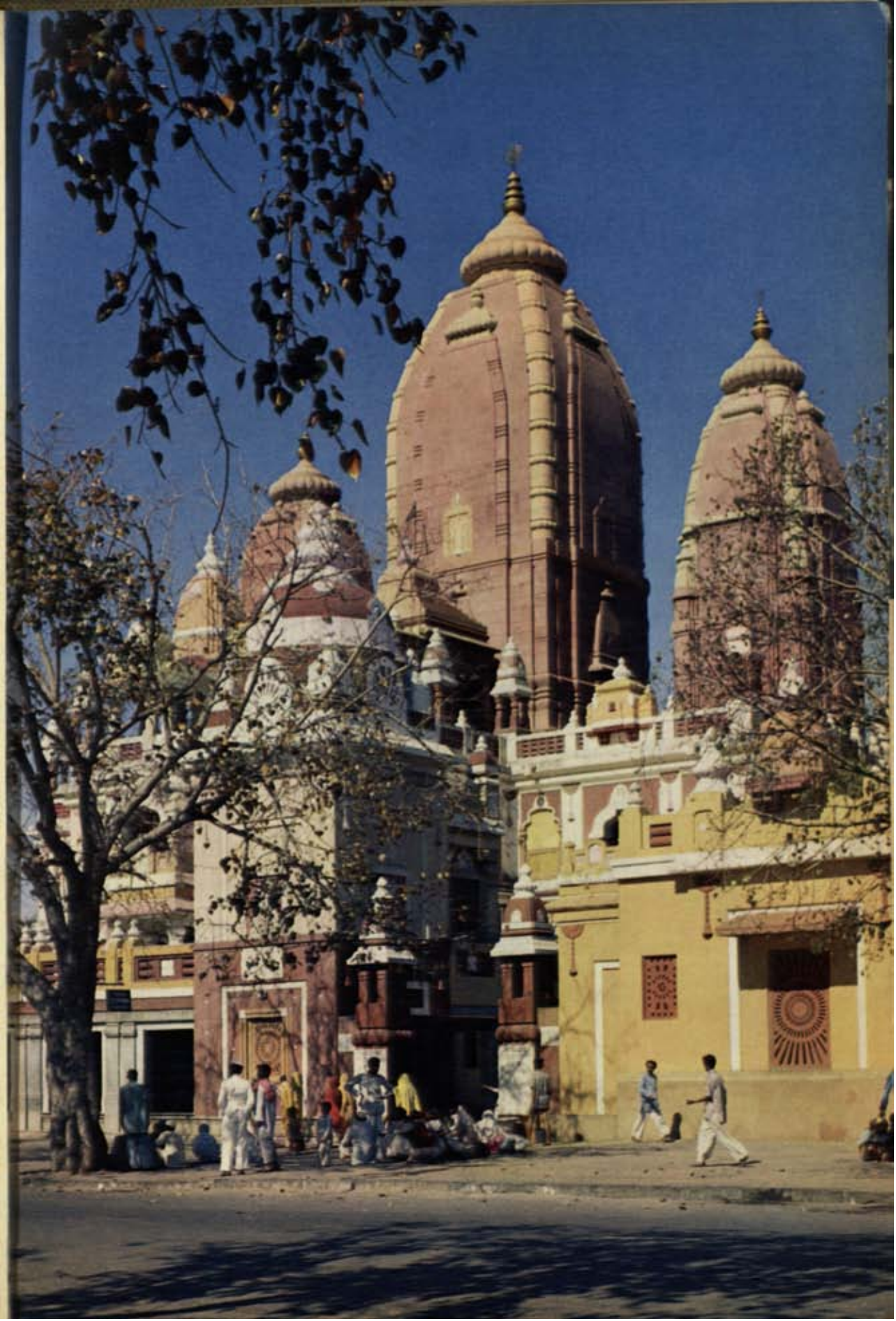
Initially, Lord Mountbatten governed in the former viceregal palace, but soon Rajagopalachari, from South India, served as Governor General of the Dominion in the name of the English sovereign. In 1950, after the formation of the Republic, the first President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, was inaugurated, while the real leader of the nation, the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, lived in his house surrounded by a quiet garden.

The city, which enjoys a special status in the Indian Union similar to that of Washington in the United States, grew more and more. More government buildings, hospitals and offices were erected, and every sort of dwelling house from the

cheapest subsidized houses for the peasants to villas of the rich, shimmering among their flower-filled gardens. Right in the south the diplomatic quarter grouped itself round the palatial Ashoka Hotel, and here the different nations competed with each other in the building of appropriate embassies. Of course it was inevitable that the stone statues in the most prominent positions should be removed as being no longer suitable to the times, since they were intended to perpetuate the likenesses of British kings and viceroys in their ceremonial robes, the King and Emperor, George V, being represented in his coronation robes with a train several yards long. It is, however, perhaps symbolic that this did not happen until after Nehru's death, although he himself had no use for this kind of monumental art on purely aesthetic grounds; indeed, he declared to me himself that he found it 'horrible'.

Now, thanks to the remarkable position of the Prime Minister, Delhi became not only the place where India's fate was decided; here arose a new focal point of world politics, and members of the international conferences which followed one upon another, mingled with tourists from all over the world. Delhi, the city of ruins and monuments to princely magnificence of long ago, became known to every newspaper reader. The whole world took part through the television cameras in the funeral procession of Jawaharlal Nehru and in the mourning of the Indian people, and innumerable friends of India from East and West will follow the career of the successor of Gandhi and Nehru with warmest wishes for his future.

81. New Delhi. Birla Mandir



82. New Delhi. Rashtrapati Bhavan

83. Rashtrapati Bhavan.

84. Indra Chauk (Connaught Place)

85. Broadcasting House

86. Indra Chauk

87. Parliament House

88. Parliament House

89. New Delhi

90. Reserve Bank of India

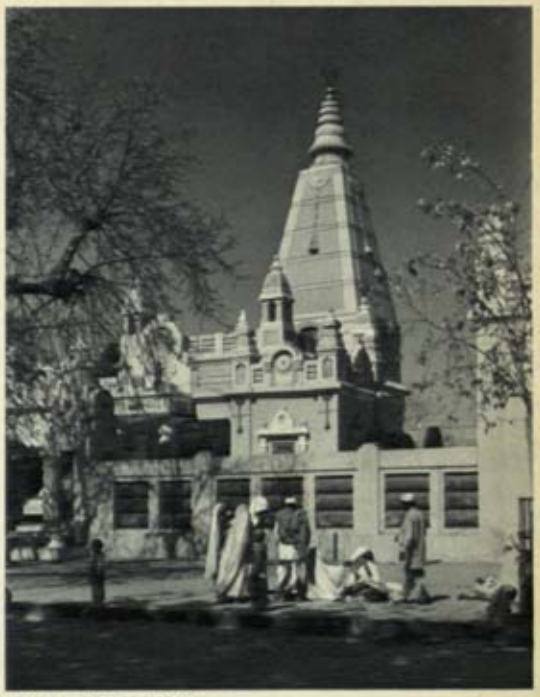
91. Church

92. Vigyan Bhawan

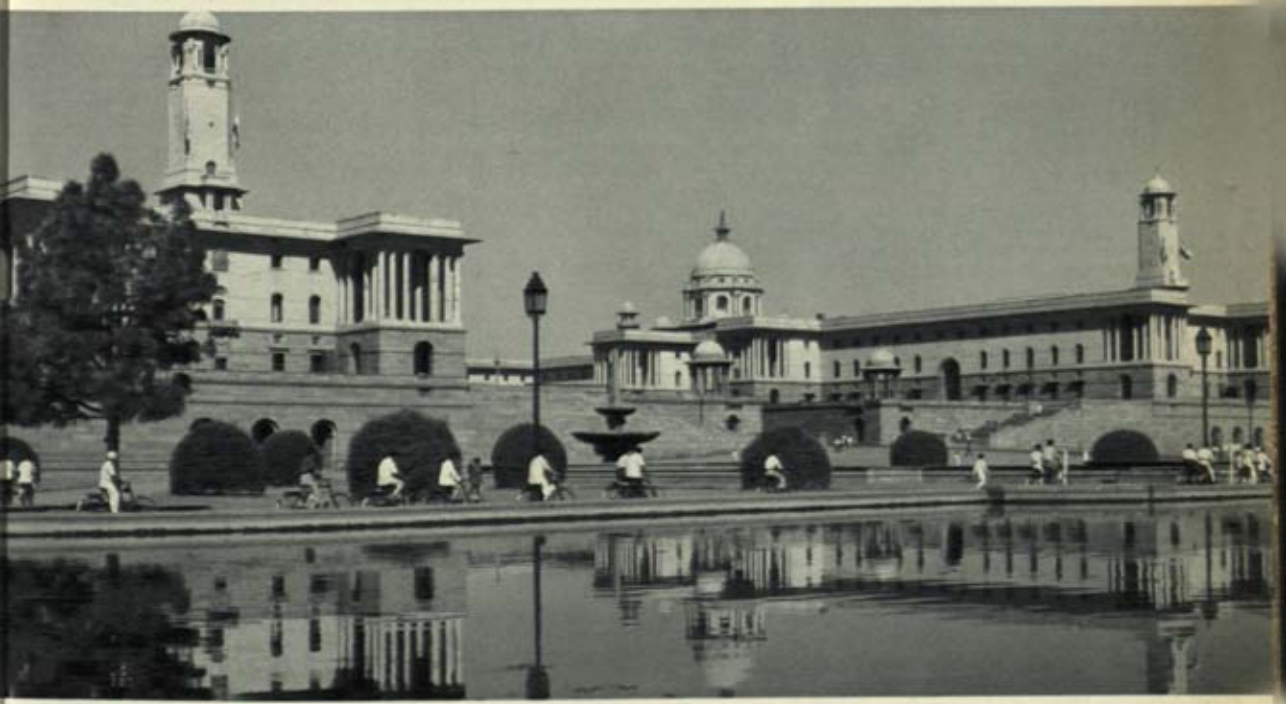
93. Railway Ministery

94. Hospital

95. In New Delhi



96. Buddhist Vihara



97. Secretariat

98. Delhi. Rajghat

99. Ashoka Hotel

100. American Embassy

AGRA

When Sultan Sikandar, of the Afghan Lodi dynasty, built his fort there, Agra was no more than a modest village, though it did indeed have the reputation of going back to the most ancient times. Even in the Vedic period, the place apparently had a certain importance as an Aryan strongpoint at the spot where the wide plain of the Jumna and Ganges bordered on mountainous central India with its war-like tribes. A fortress is mentioned in the eleventh century, but apart from that nothing is known. Sikandar had certainly been influenced by strategic considerations in wishing to be nearer to the state capital of Gwalior, which had so often been fought over, than he was in Delhi. From this time onwards Agra shared with Delhi the honour of being a capital city, though it was never the centre of a state independent of the kingdom of Delhi.

In 1526, when Babur defeated the Sultan Ibrahim and occupied Delhi, he immediately withdrew, as we have seen, to Agra, which had also been the seat of the last king of the Lodi dynasty. In his memoirs he makes very plain, great lover of nature that he was, that he was in no way attracted to his new home:

> It always appears to me that one of the chief defects of Hindustan is the want of artificial watercourses. I had intended, wherever I might fix my residence,

to construct waterwheels, to produce an artificial stream, and to lay out an elegant and regularly planned pleasure ground. Shortly after coming to Agra I passed the Jumna with this object in view, and examined the country to pitch upon a fit spot for a garden. The whole was so ugly and detestable that I repassed the river quite repulsed and disgusted. In consequence of the want of beauty and of the disagreeable aspect of the country, I gave up my intention of making a charbagh (garden house); but as no better situation presented itself near Agra, I was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot ... In every corner I planted suitable gardens, in every garden I sowed roses and narcissi regularly, and in beds corresponding to each other. We were annoyed by things in Hindustan; one was its heat, another the strong winds, and the third its dust. Baths were the means of removing all three inconveniences.

Six hundred and eighty men worked daily on Babur's buildings; but unfortunately nothing survives from the four years that he was in Agra. It was his nephew, Akbar, who was the founder of the present fort.

Akbar, the only ruler of India acknowledged by the rest of the world as 'the Great', came to the throne at the age of thirteen, and when he was eighteen, he dispensed with the regency of his powerful minister, Bairam. The boundless energy that he showed in the most varied fields was worthy of his grandfather. He was as active in building as his nephew, Shah Jahan, who built the Taj Mahal, but this was only one of his passions. His rebellious son, Jahangir, said of him:

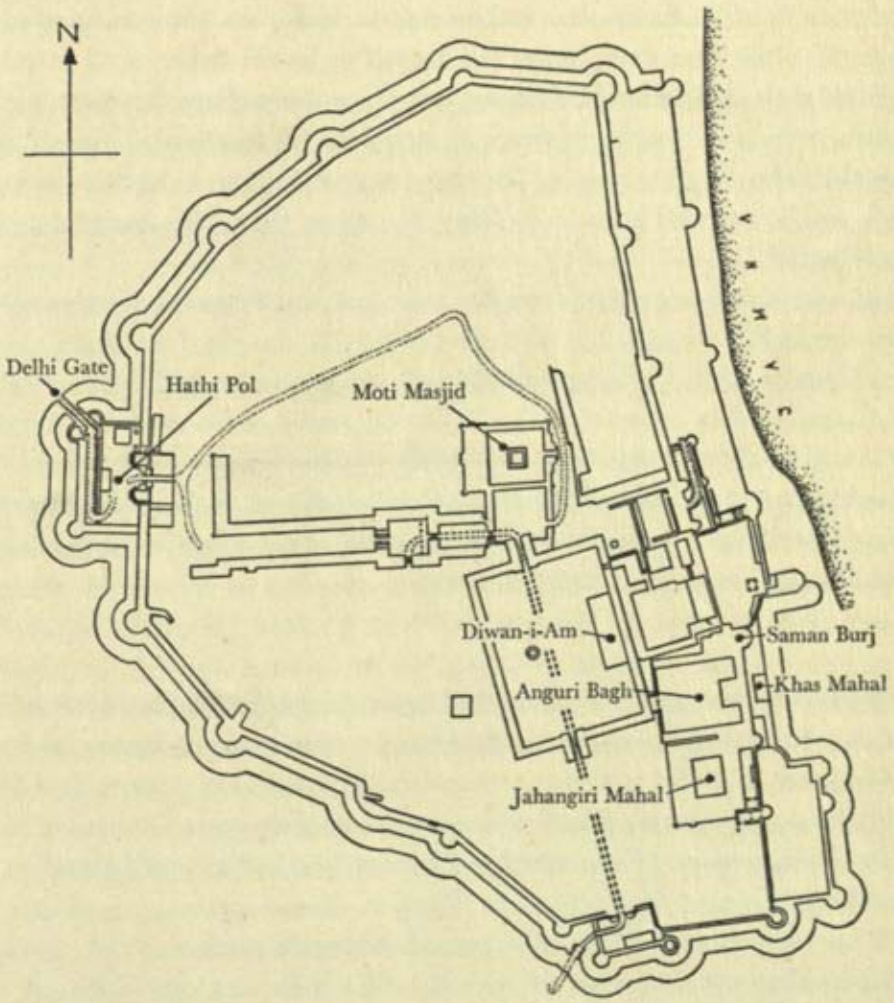
Though he was illiterate, yet from constantly conversing with learned and clever persons, his language was so polished, that no one could discover from his conversation that he was entirely uneducated. He understood even the elegancies of poetry and prose so well, that it is impossible to conceive any more proficient ... His manners and habits were quite different from those of other persons, and his visage was full of godly dignity.

Jahangir says further:

Agra is one of the large ancient cities of India on the banks of the river Jumna. It had an old fort which was demolished before my birth by my father, who rebuilt it with red hewn stone, the like of which is not to be seen by the travellers of the world. It was finished in the course of fifteen or sixteen years ...

Akbar's faithful chronicler, Abul Fazl, writes about the works begun in 1565, under the direction of Qasm Khan, the chief overseer of buildings and ships:

To have erected
five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujarat which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models.



Agra Fort showing the Palace

Many of these houses were sacrificed to the ambitious plans of Shah Jahan, who preferred the regal white marble to red sandstone, but the southern wing of the imperial palace, known as Jahangir Mahal, still gives an impressive picture of the style developed by Akbar. It is generally assumed today that this wing was erected in the later years of the great emperor, and may have served the heir to the throne as living quarters. The building might almost equally well have formed part of the residence of a Hindu prince of the time. The wealth of abstract motifs on the western wall is certainly in accordance with Arabian style, but the arches, so characteristic of Mohammedan architecture in India, are completely missing. Especially in his later days, Akbar felt himself to be the father of all India; he respected the varied faiths of his subjects equally, and considered that their cultural achievements were worthy of the same attention. He surrounded himself with learned Hindus, but also received Jesuits and permitted them to build a church in Agra, and he intended his own buildings to express the whole country and the whole period.

The exceptional attitude of this ruler, more tolerant than any of his successors or predecessors, is expressed in his tomb in Sikandra, the place near Agra named after Sikandar Lodi. Having passed through the gatehouse, built like a mosque and flanked by four minarets, we see before us, instead of the usual domed tomb in the middle of the spacious gardens, a building rising in steps, similar to an altar, a combination of Islamic and Hindu elements which was doubtless conceived by Akbar himself. Let us return to Jahangir's account of the efforts he made to complete this monument in a worthy manner:

> On Tuesday the 17th, I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father. If I could, I would travel this distance upon my eyelashes or my head. My father, when he made a vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Fatehpur to Ajmir on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the great Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chisti, a space of a hundred and twenty kos, and it would therefore be nothing very great if I were to go this short distance upon my head or eyes. When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was, that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the unfortunate Khusro, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built

it according to their own taste, and had altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended, and the work had occupied three or four years. I ordered that clever architects, acting in concert with some intelligent persons, should pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised, with a nice garden round it, entered by a lofty gate, consisting of minarets made of white stone. The total expense of this large building was reported to me to amount to fifty thousand tumans of Irak, and forty-five lakhs of Khanis of Turan.

Jahangir did not spend much time in Agra and the only building from his time shows more than anything the superior artistic taste of his spouse, Nur Jahan, who, in 1622 to 1628, built a tomb on the left bank of the Jumna for her father, Itimad-ud-Daula, a Persian, who was for many years a trusted minister of the emperor. The marble building is impressive less by reason of its size than because of the richness of the material and the delicate workmanship; with its closely patterned marble lattice-work, and the delicate and brilliant colouring of the inlaid stones, it gives us a foretaste of what Shah Jahan was to achieve on a grand scale.

This ambitious prince, whom we have already seen in Delhi as one of the greatest builders of all time, had plundered Agra in the year 1623 during a revolt against his father, Jahangir. But when he was enthroned here three years later as emperor, he decided to make the town, which in honour of his grandfather he had named Akbarabad, into the most brilliant royal residence on earth. Visitors from the whole world have spread the fame of his buildings, which have become the embodiment of the fairy-tale magnificence of the Orient. While modern sophisticated taste may turn to not less important achievements and point out the virile strength of Pathan monuments, and do justice to the fantastic visions in stone of the Hindu temple builders, yet these halls and domes, these pavilions and courts and gardens still remain the expression of a courtly art of the highest perfection. The whole Indian nation together with the rest of the world pays homage to them as a symbol of all that is noble and beautiful.

Years after Shah Jahan had moved into his new palace in Delhi, he added to the buildings in the fort of Agra what is perhaps his most sublime creation, the Pearl Mosque. It is almost hidden in the upper storey of a building north of the great hall of audience, and from outside can hardly be seen, in contrast to the mosque contemporary with it which majestically dominates the town. From the

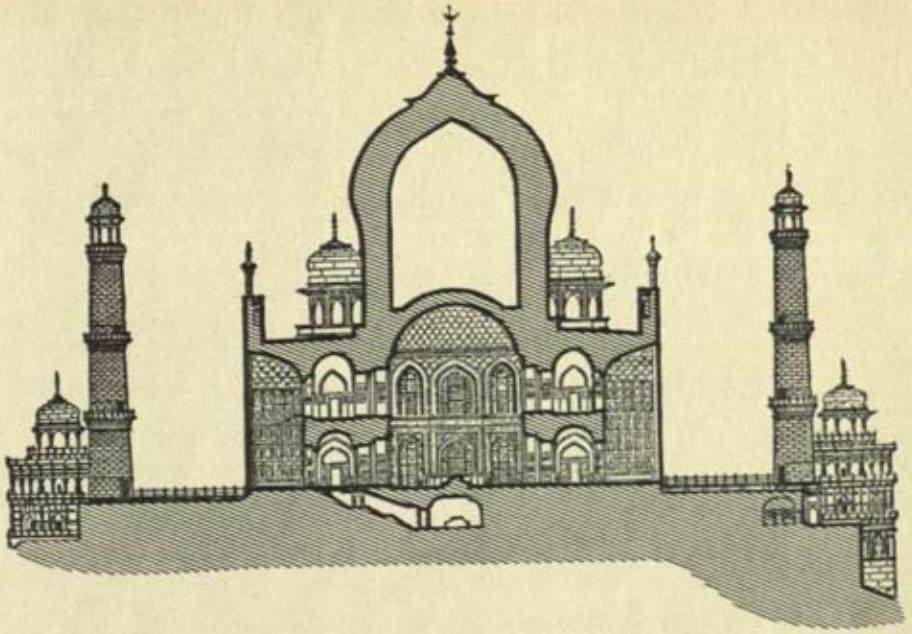
brilliant light of the courtyard we enter into the dimly glowing sanctuary, with its three rows of pillars and three domes, where the light conjures up the delicate colouring of the marble tiles. A long inscription in black marble mosaic praises the building in the flowery language of the time, and says among other things:

> Verily it is an exalted palace of Paradise made of a single resplendent pearl, because, since the beginning of the population of this world, no mosque, pure and entirely of marble, has appeared as its equal, nor, since the creation of the universe, any place of worship, wholly bright and polished, has come to rival it.

With the added enchantment of a romantic love story, we now see rising before us the white marble dome that the sorrowing emperor erected for his beautiful young Mumtaz Mahal, the Jewel of the Palace. There is no building that has a similar place in men's minds, and even those who know scarcely anything else about Agra and the Great Moghul, and are not in the least concerned with the mysteries of architecture, have heard of the fame of the Taj Mahal.

In the year 1612 the twenty-year-old prince Khurram married the young Arjmand Banu, the daughter of Asaf Khan, son of Itimad-ud-Daula and brother of the empress Nur Jahan, and she died on 17 June 1631 in the third year after her husband had ascended the throne. According to Tavernier, twenty thousand men worked for twenty-two years on her tomb. The scaffolding required cost as much as the structure itself, because, for lack of wood, it had to be made of stone. The design, with which the emperor himself was no doubt continually occupied, embraces the entire project: as one enters through a gatehouse like a palace, in which red sandstone predominates, one gets a full view of the white-domed building in the centre of its extensive garden, beyond a stretch of water, just as it has been captured in innumerable pictures as well as in this book, which is no doubt how its builder intended that it should first be seen. The delicate filigree work of the characters, decorative flowers and abstract patterns fascinate those who cross the threshold of the building, without obscuring the clear outline of the architecture. A stately mosque and a similar building, reminiscent of the gatehouse, being built of red sandstone, stand on either side in strict symmetry; they form the most effective contrast possible to the white pearly brilliance and the mighty proportions of the main building raised on its marble base.

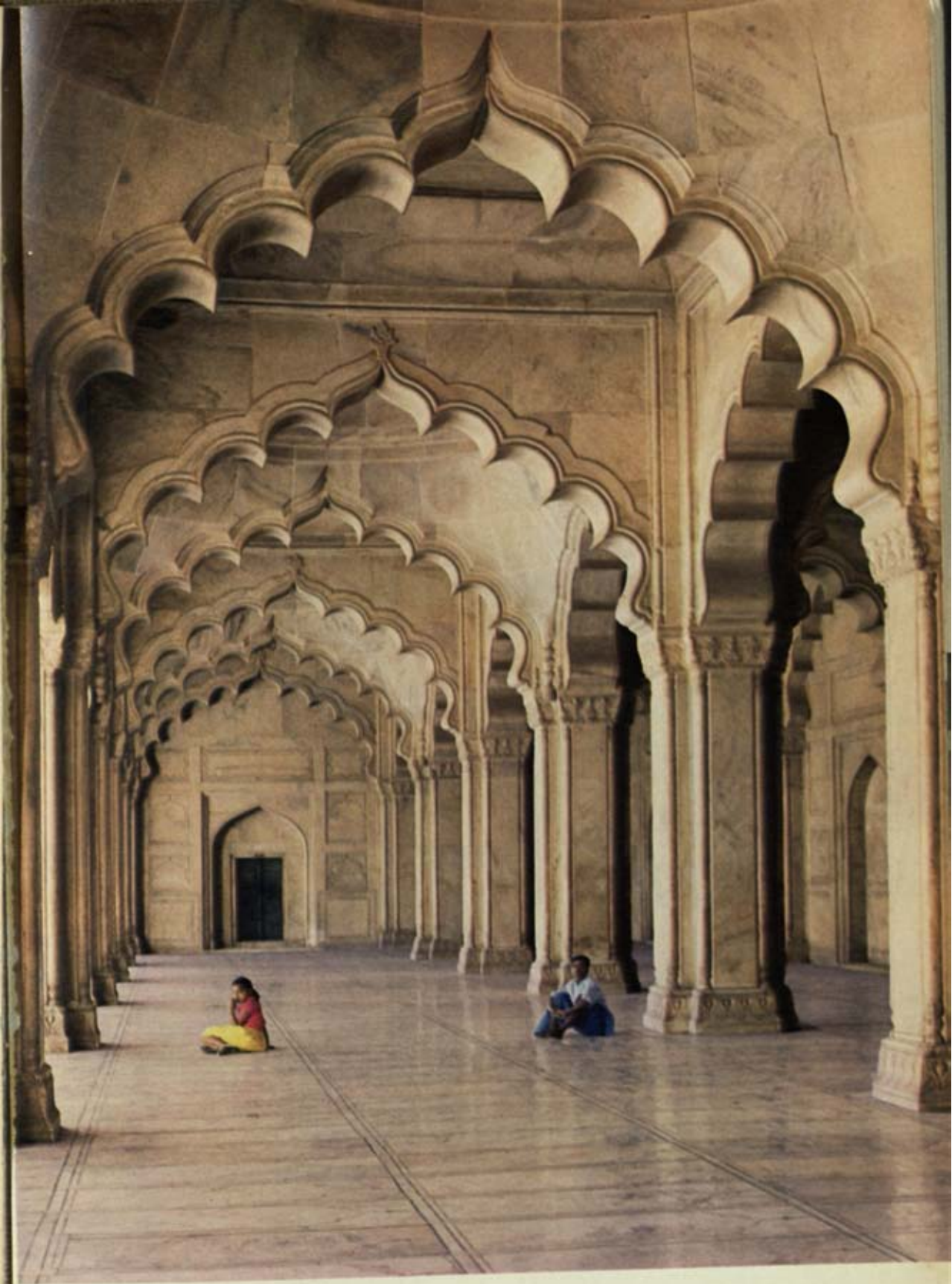
To the north the terrace of the tomb slopes down to the Jumna. On the opposite bank, which is now covered with bushes, Babur had once laid out a garden. Shah Jahan wanted to erect his own tomb as a companion piece to the Taj, intended to be of black marble, and forming a gigantic design with his wife's monument



Taj Mahal: Elevation of the mausoleum showing
the actual tomb and the double cupola.
After Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*

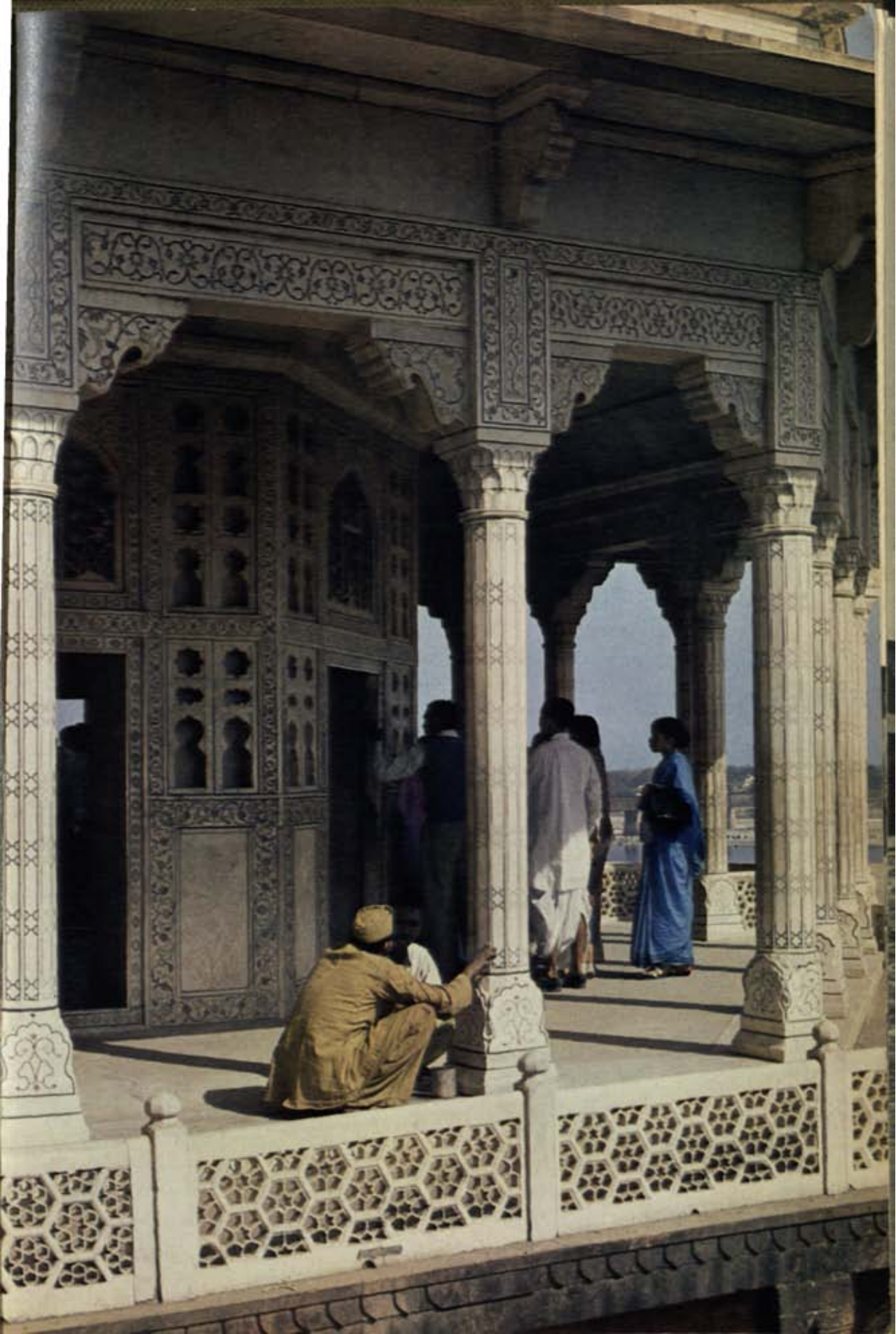
across the river. The *coup d'état* of Aurangzeb in Delhi brought this plan to an end. For seven and a half years after he was brought to Agra, the deposed emperor could look from the battlements of his palace at his most sublime creation, and give himself over to meditation upon a life that had held so much; then he himself found his last resting place in the Taj Mahal. The emperor's sarcophagus stands side by side with the somewhat smaller marble sarcophagus of his wife under the centre of the dome.

101. Agra Fort. Moti Masjid

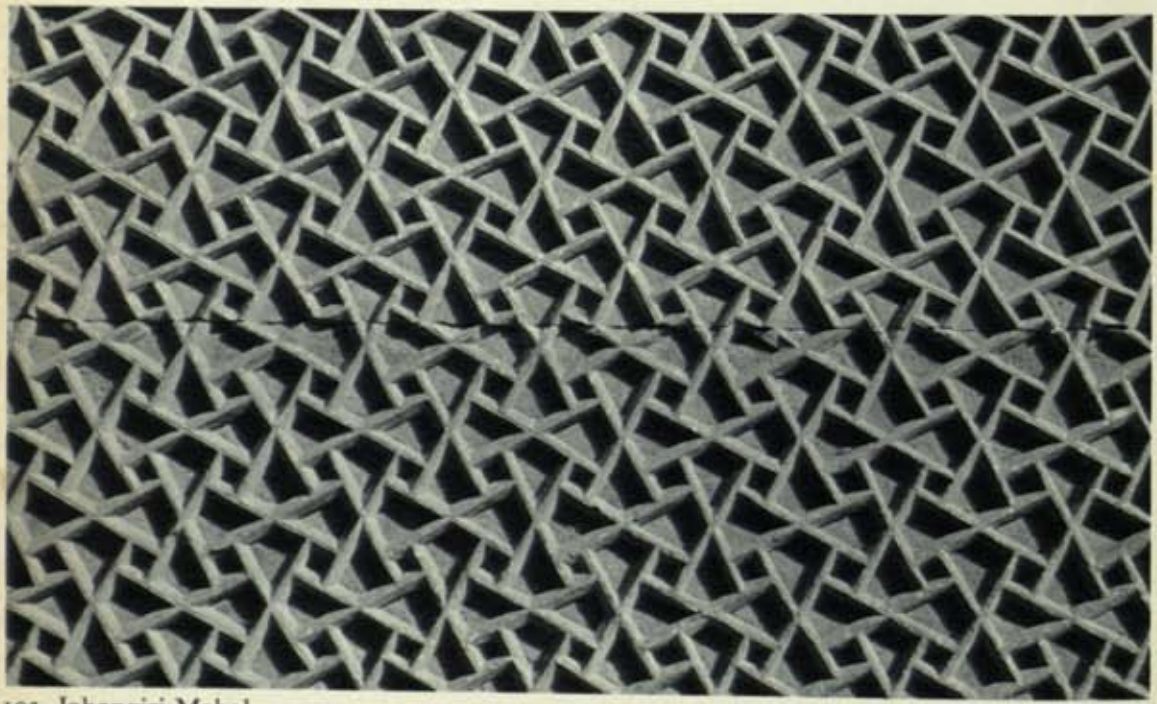


102. Agra Fort. Delhi Gate

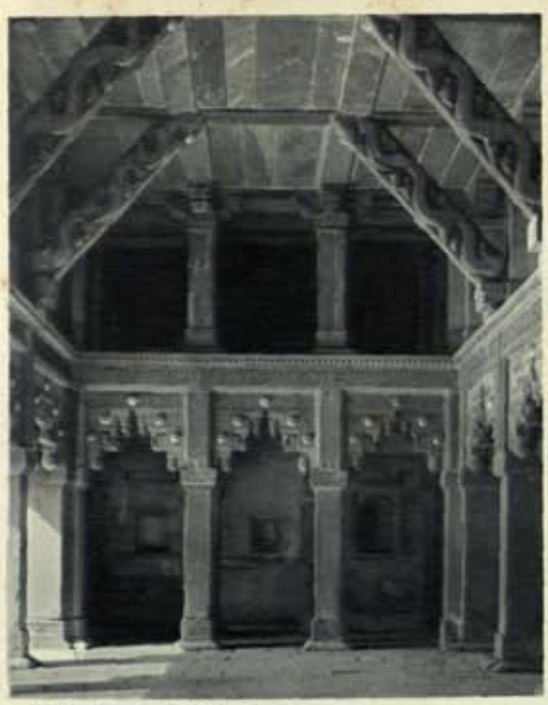
103. Saman Burj



104. Agra Fort. Jahangiri Mahal



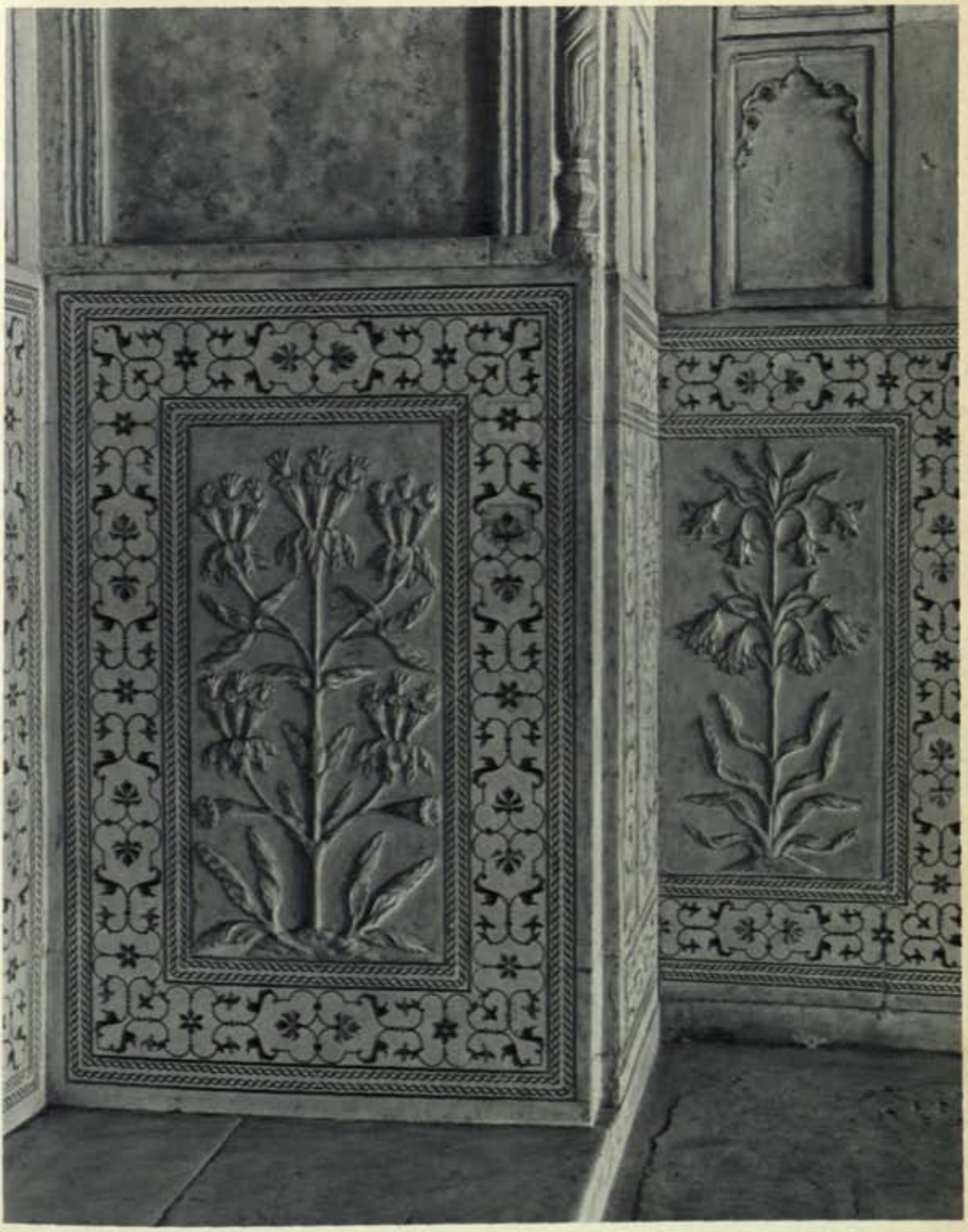
105. Jahangiri Mahal



106. Jahangiri Mahal

107. Jahangiri Mahal

108. Anguri Bagh



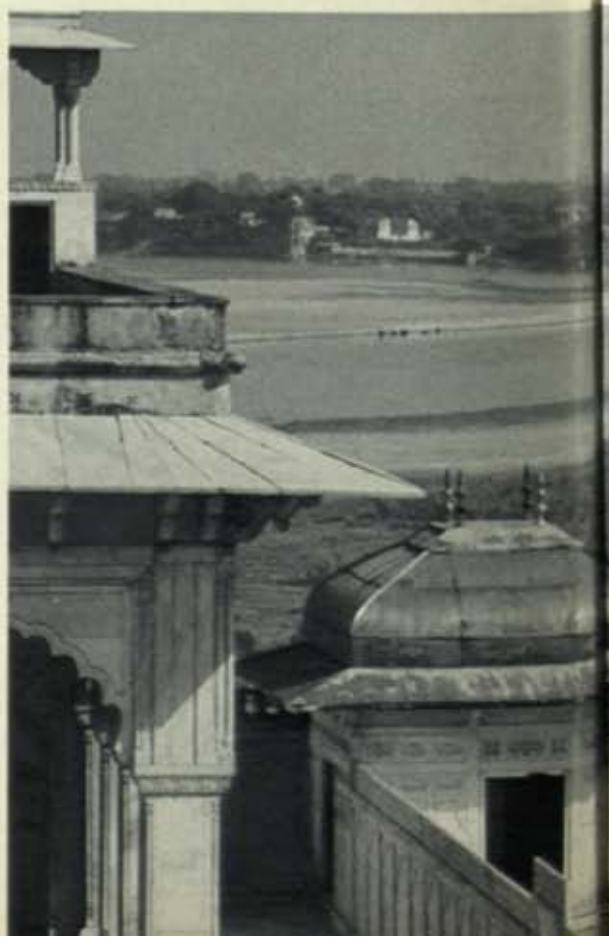
110. Agra Fort

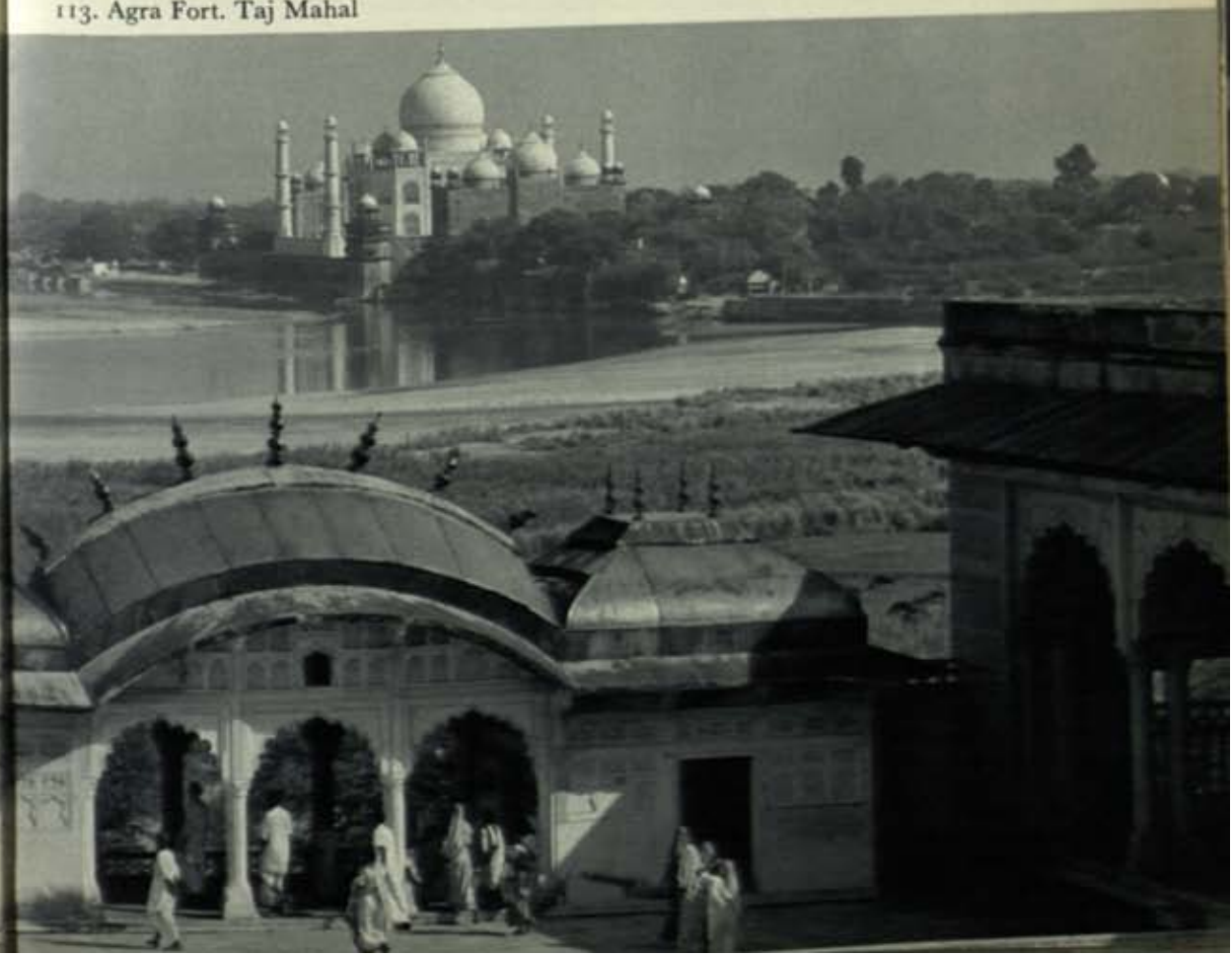
109. Saman Burj

111. Agra Fort. Diwan-i-Am

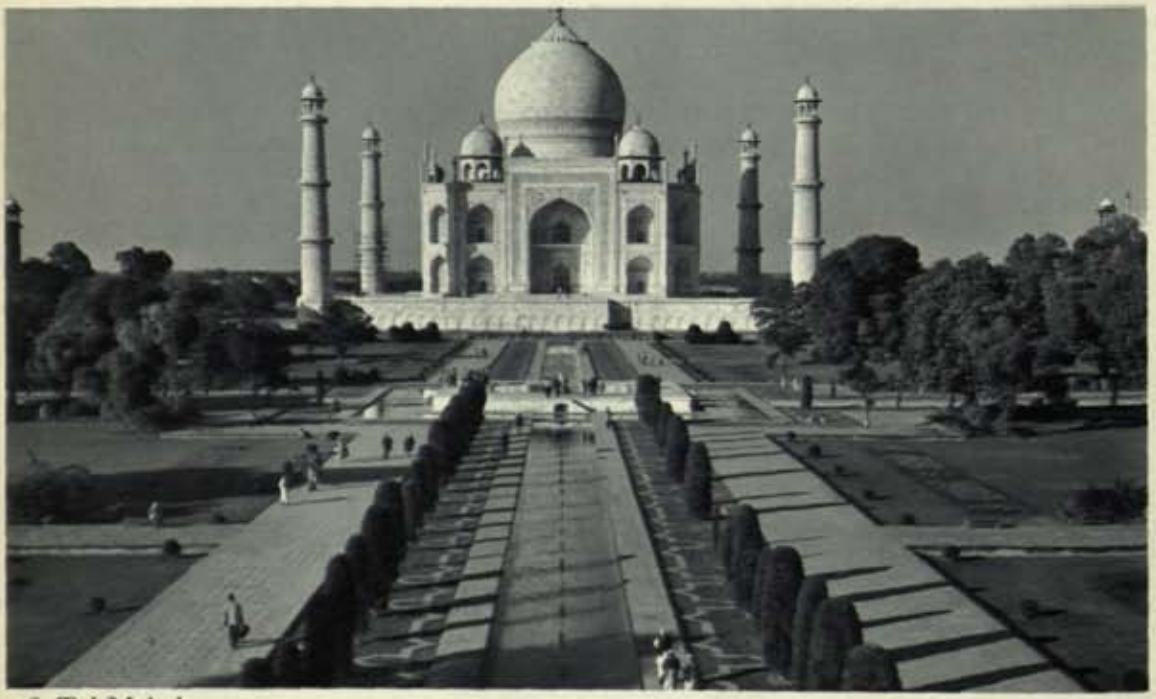
112. Anguri Bagh. Diwan-i-Khas

113. Agra Fort. Taj Mahal



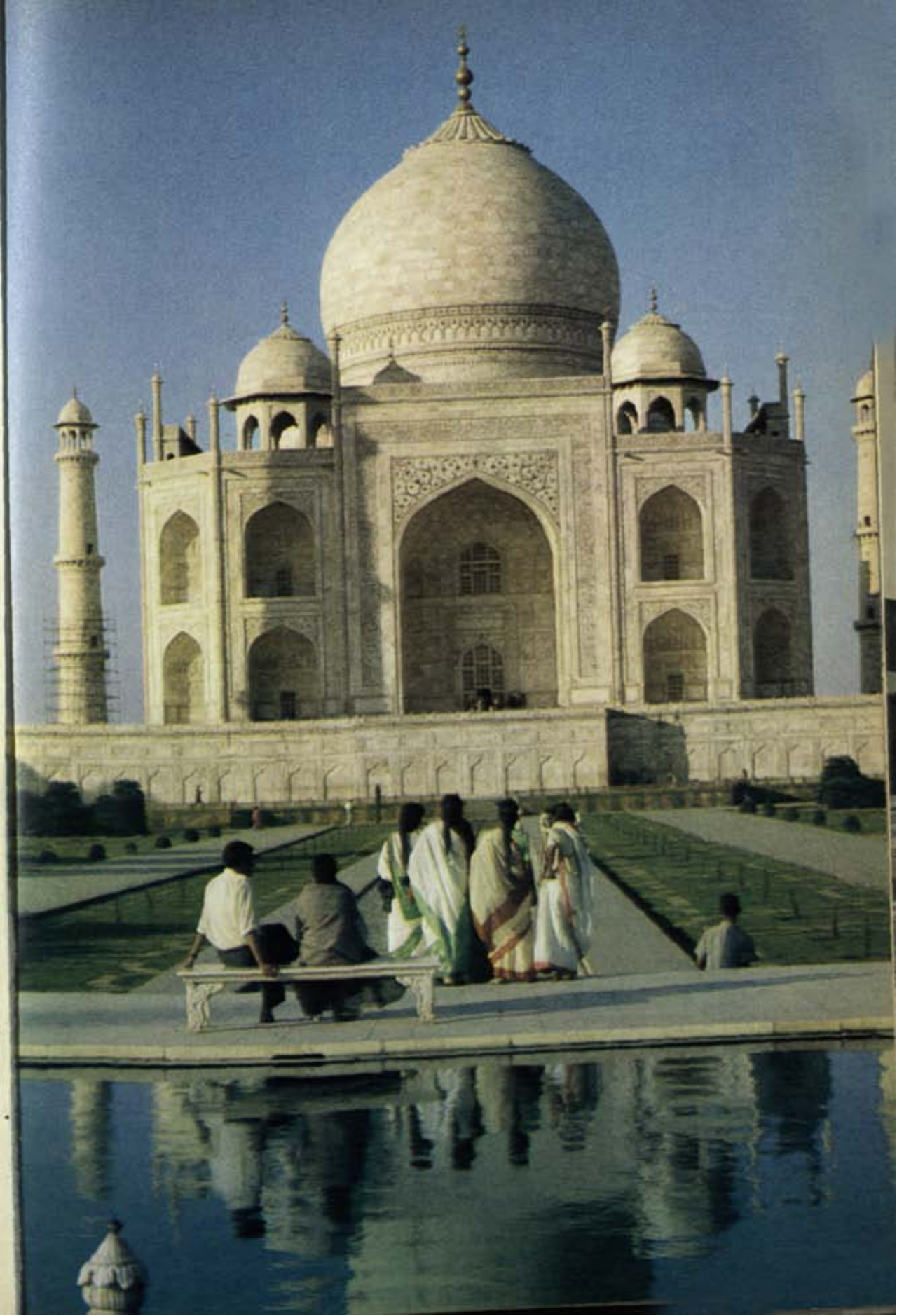


115. Agra Taj Mahal

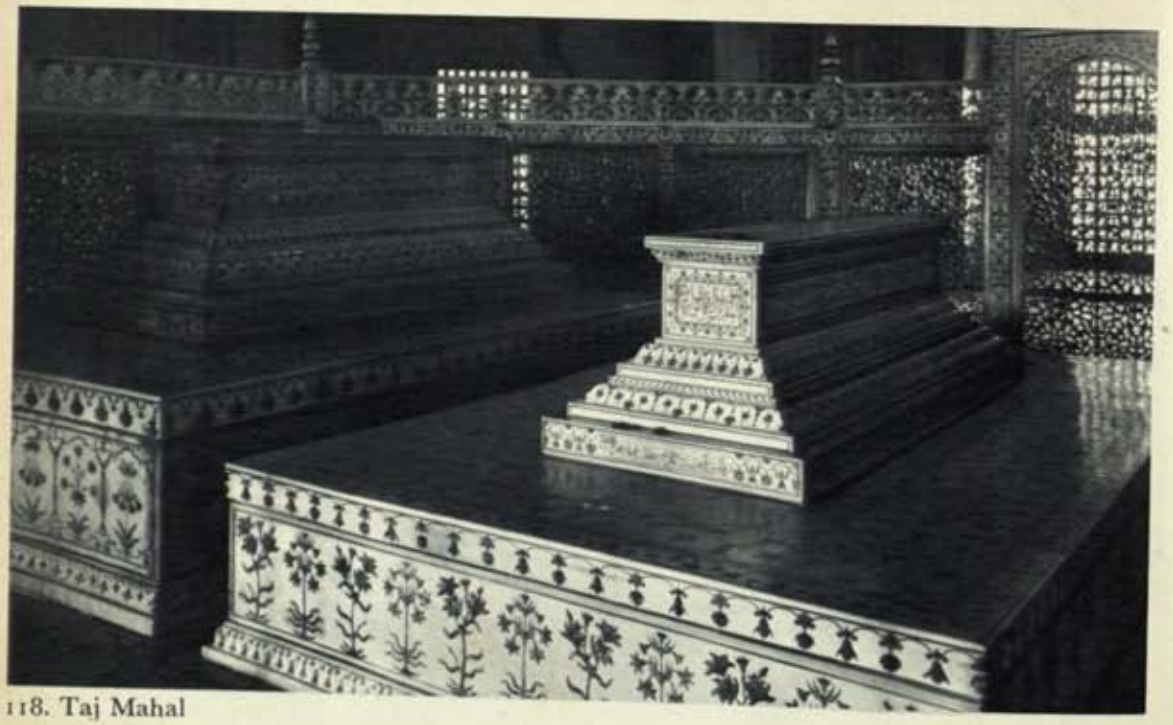


116. Taj Mahal

117. Taj Mahal

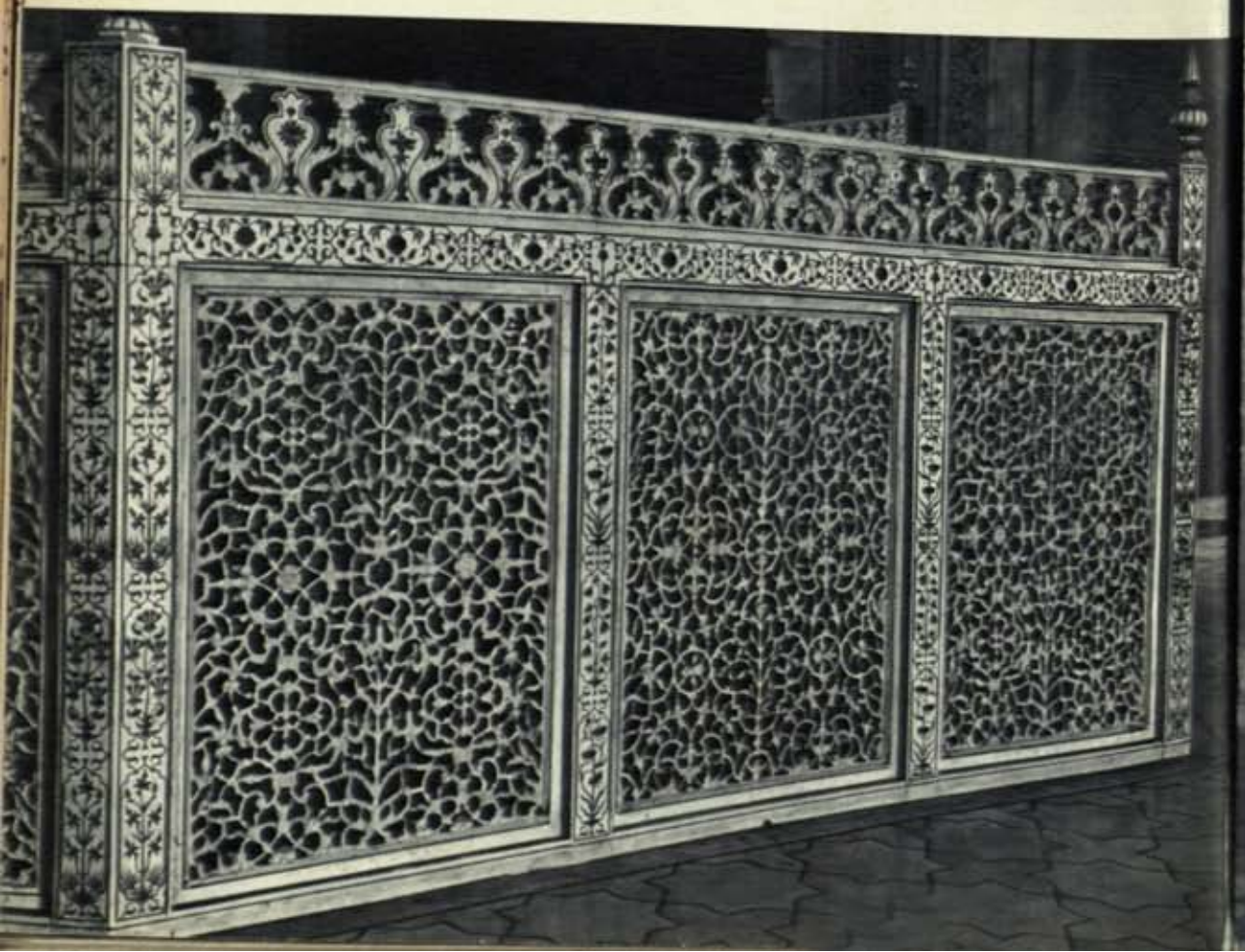


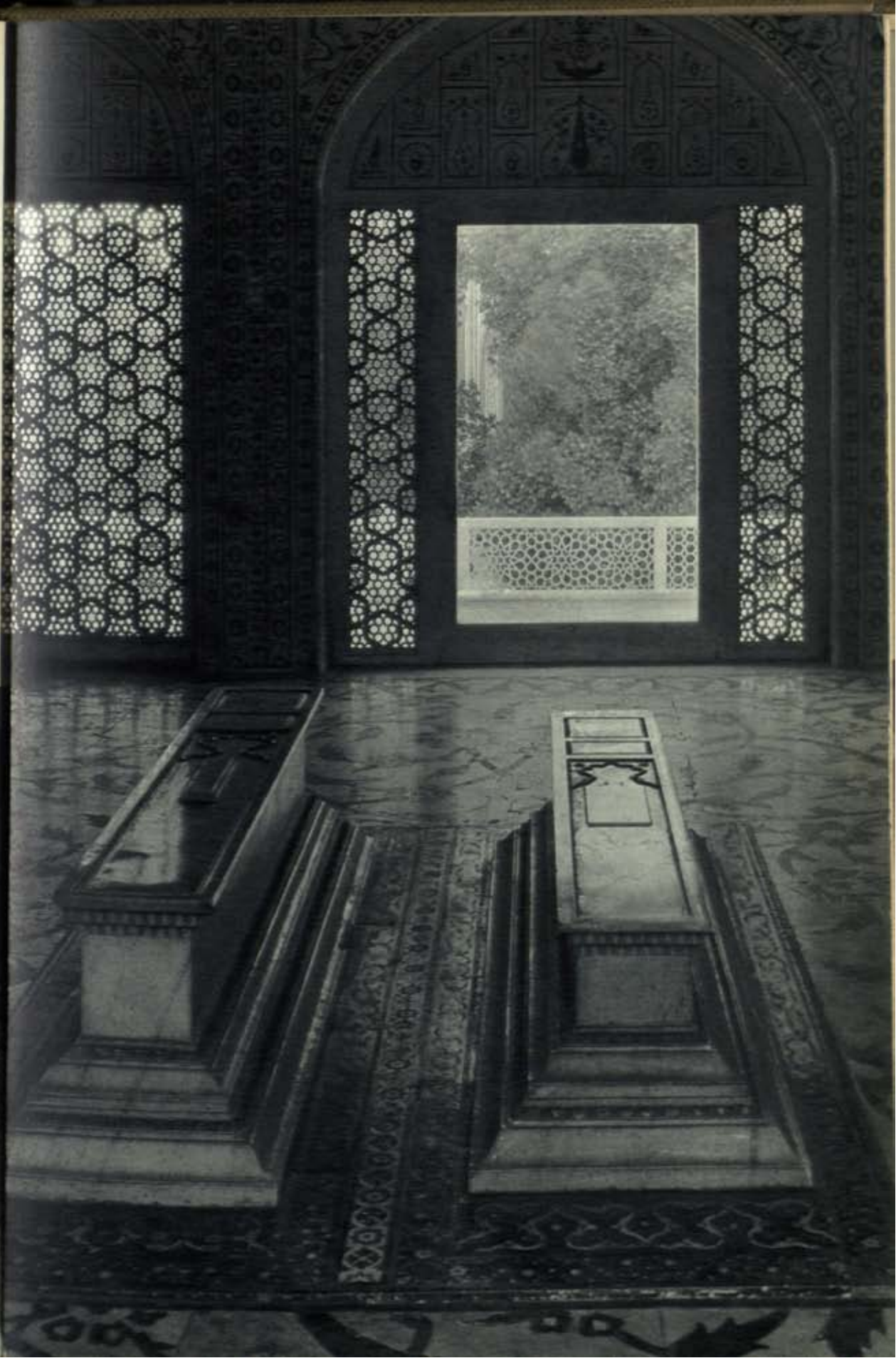
120. Agra. Mausoleum Itimad-ud-daula

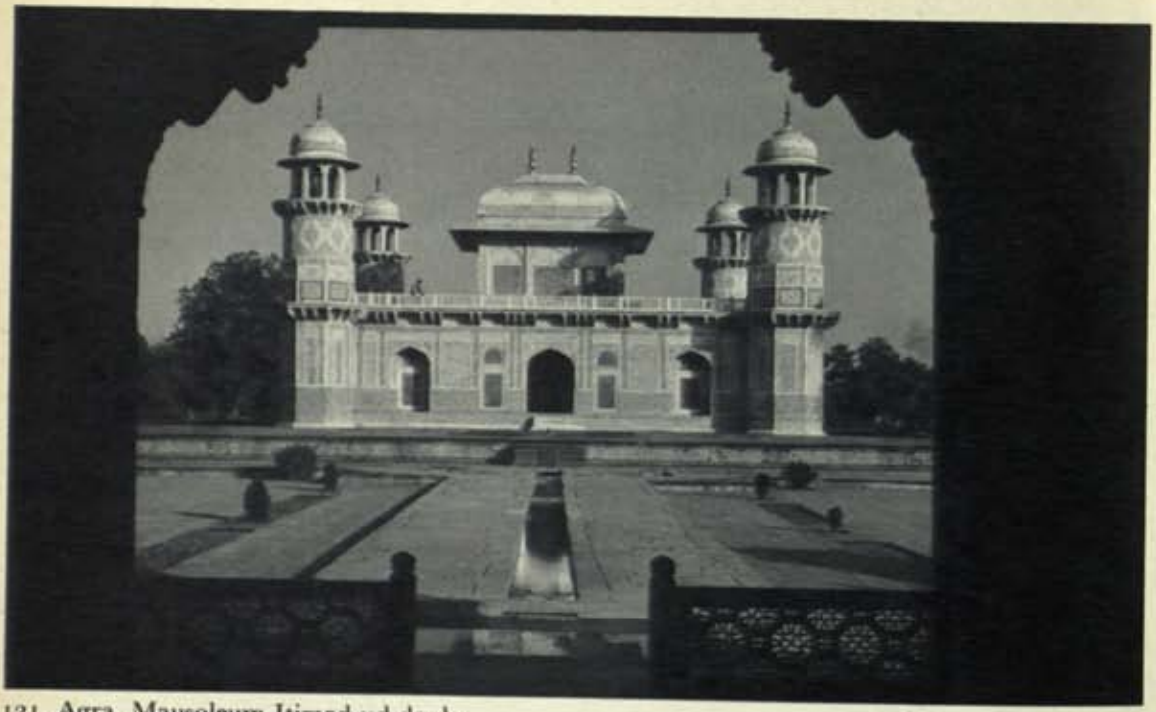


118. Taj Mahal

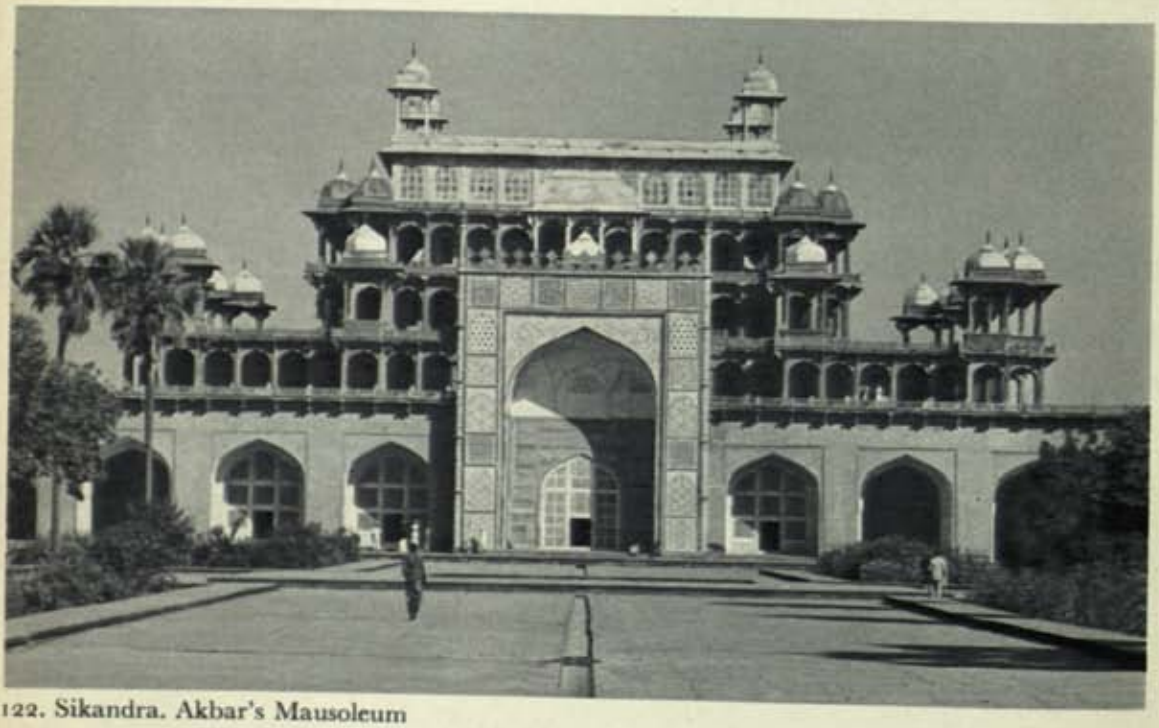
119.



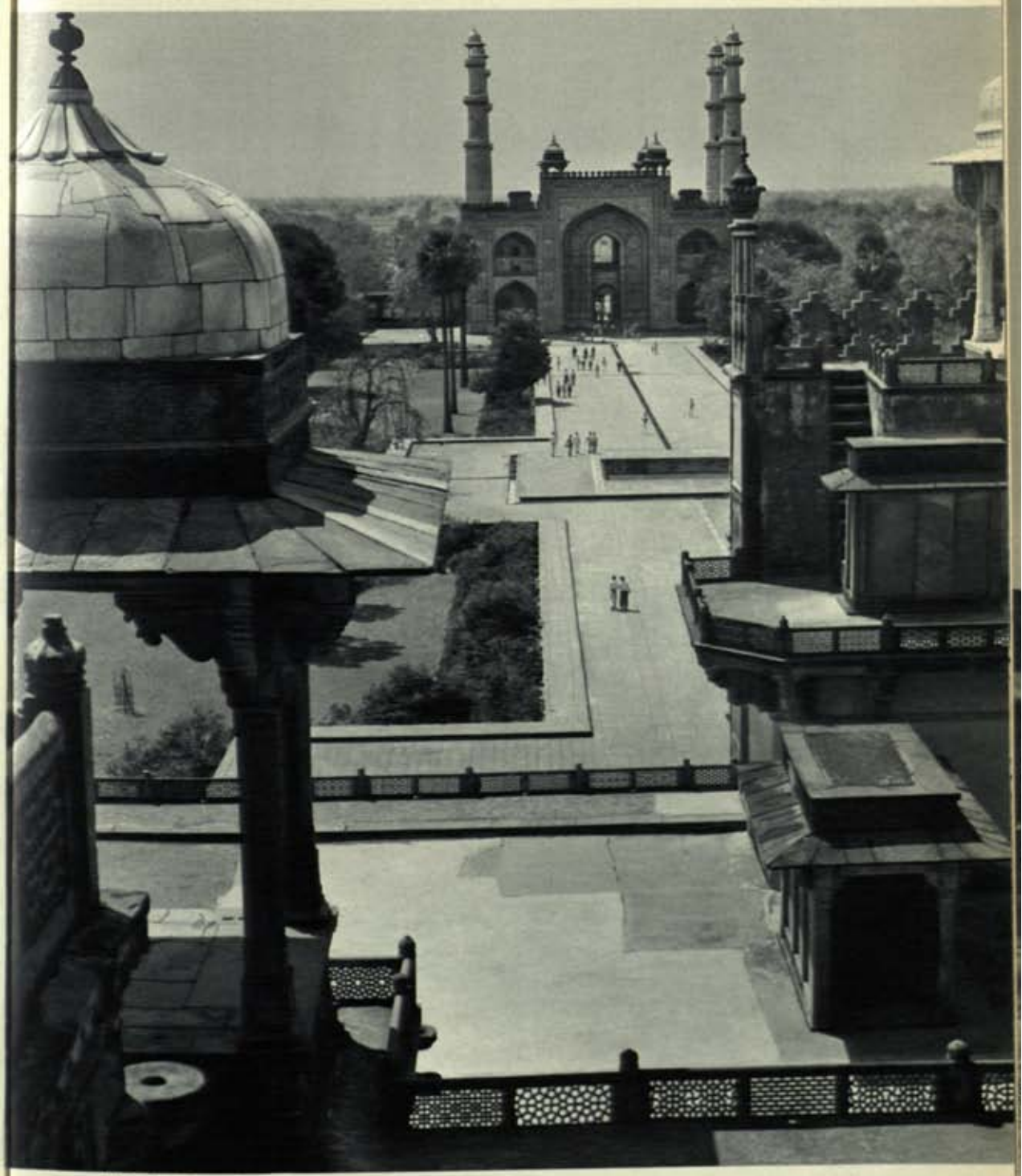




121. Agra. Mausoleum Itimad-ud-daula

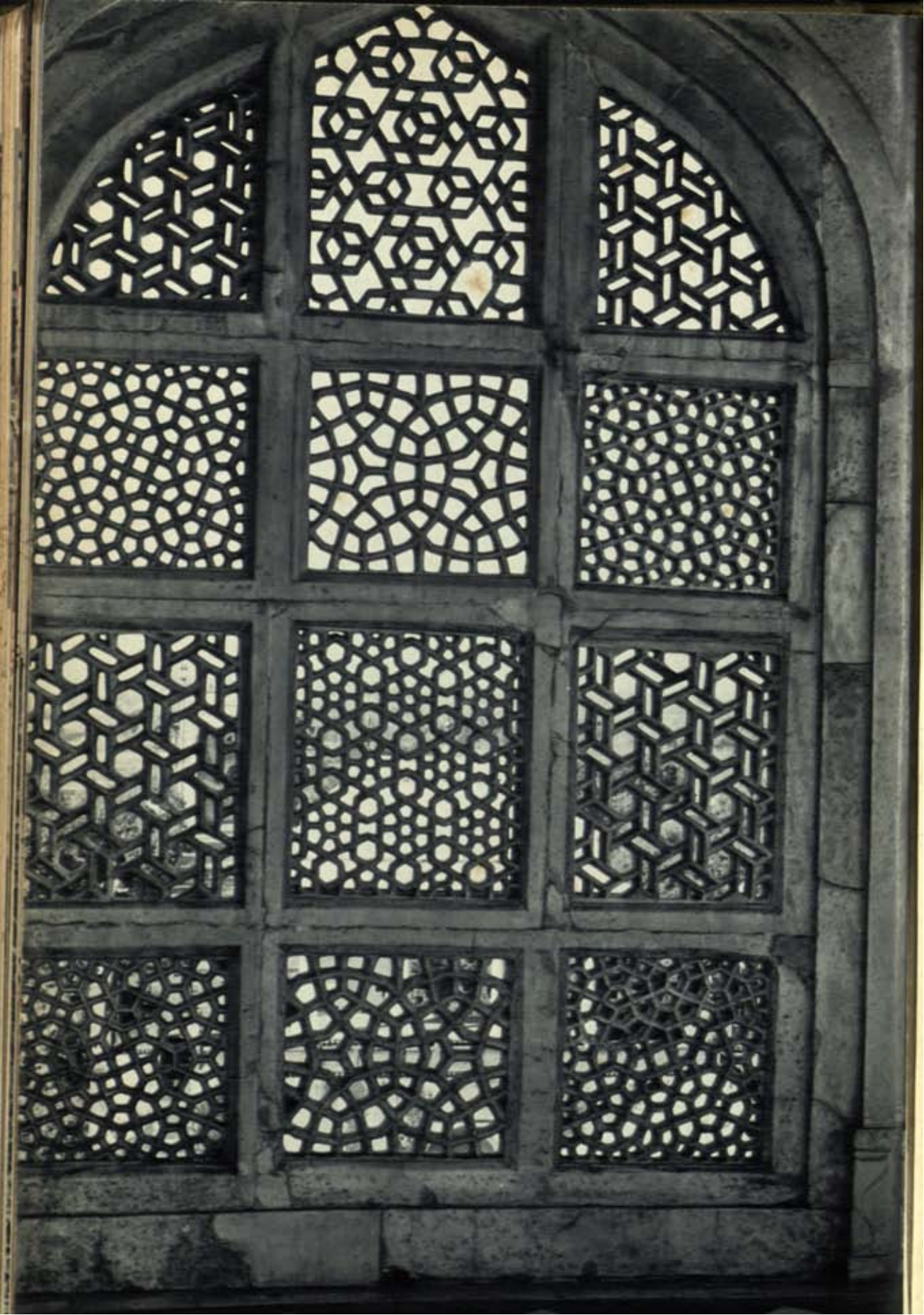


122. Sikandra. Akbar's Mausoleum



123. Akbar's Mausoleum

124. Agra. Jumna



FATEHPUR SIKRI

Those who are drawn to Agra by the fame of the Taj Mahal should on no account fail to give up half a day at least for a fleeting visit to the town of Fatehpur Sikri, that remarkable creation of the great builder, Akbar, which is twenty-three miles away. This palatial city, erected on a stony ridge, is a companion piece to the forts of Delhi and Agra, and everything that remains originates from its foundation in the sixteenth century. A fortress wall that was never quite completed, three miles long, forms three sides of a quadrangle about three thousand yards long by fifteen hundred yards broad, while the fourth side in the north-west is formed by an artificial lake, long dried out.

The great emperor was still a devout Moslem when he began the work, but it did not disturb him in the least that the builders he brought thither carried with them their own tradition of palace architecture in the style of the Hindu princes. Thus Fatehpur Sikri, as Oscar Reuther says in his detailed description, shows 'how an Indian, following his own ideas, solved the problem of building a palace for a Moslem ruler', and this in such a comprehensive manner that 'a veritable cross-section of domestic architecture in various styles arose'.

Akbar did not have a simple nature. The monstrous ambition that he displayed as a military leader, statesman and bringer of civilization could suddenly turn to

125. Akbar's Mausoleum

deep contrition and religious fervour. He at first tried to satisfy his longing for a personal revelation of the power of God in the religion of his fathers. In January 1562, he made for the first time the pilgrimage mentioned by Jahangir from Agra to Ajmir, and he repeated it every year until 1579, partly on foot. He also visited the graves of the Moslem saints in Delhi, and wherever he heard of any specially pious sage, he strove to share his secrets. The desire for an heir to the throne, unfilled, in spite of his numerous wives, for many years after the early death of his twin sons, doubled his fervour to please God through prayer and through seeking out the company of holy men. When he visited the village of Sikri in 1568, Shaik Salim Chishti, who dwelt there, prophesied the birth of son. In 1537–38 Salim had come to live in a cave among the rocks in the hills, and his settlement included a monastery, a mosque and a school. When, soon after Akbar's visit, his first Hindu wife, a daughter of the Rajah of Amber, became pregnant, the emperor ordered her to await her confinement in the Shaik's modest pilgrim hostelry. On the 30 August 1569, she bore the son who received the name Salim, in honour of the saint, but who has gone down in history as Jahangir. Akbar vowed to immortalize the event by founding a city on this spot, especially since within a year he had a daughter and a second son by other wives. The red sandstone, which is such a magnificent building material, was available locally in abundance, and lively activity began in the stone quarries from which the stones were brought ready worked to the building site. Jahangir writes:

> My revered father, regarding the village of Sikri, my birthplace, as fortunate to himself, made it his capital, and in the course of fourteen or fifteen years the hills and deserts, which abounded in beasts of prey, became converted into a magnificent city, comprising numerous gardens, elegant edifices and other places of great attraction and beauty. After the conquest of Gujerat, the village was named Fatehpur (the town of victory).

When in 1571 the emperor returned from a journey in the Punjab he took up residence with the Shaik, and went on energetically with the building. The seer died at the beginning of the following year. The account of a Jesuit traveller gives us a duly sarcastic commentary on his sanctity. He received a magnificent marble tomb in the courtyard of the great mosque which forms the impressive boundary of the city on a commanding height to the south. Its mighty southern gate, known as Buland Darwaza, from which steps lead steeply down to the little modern town, was built four years after the mosque itself, to celebrate the conquest of Gujarat. When Akbar returned once more to his already deserted residence, after his vic-

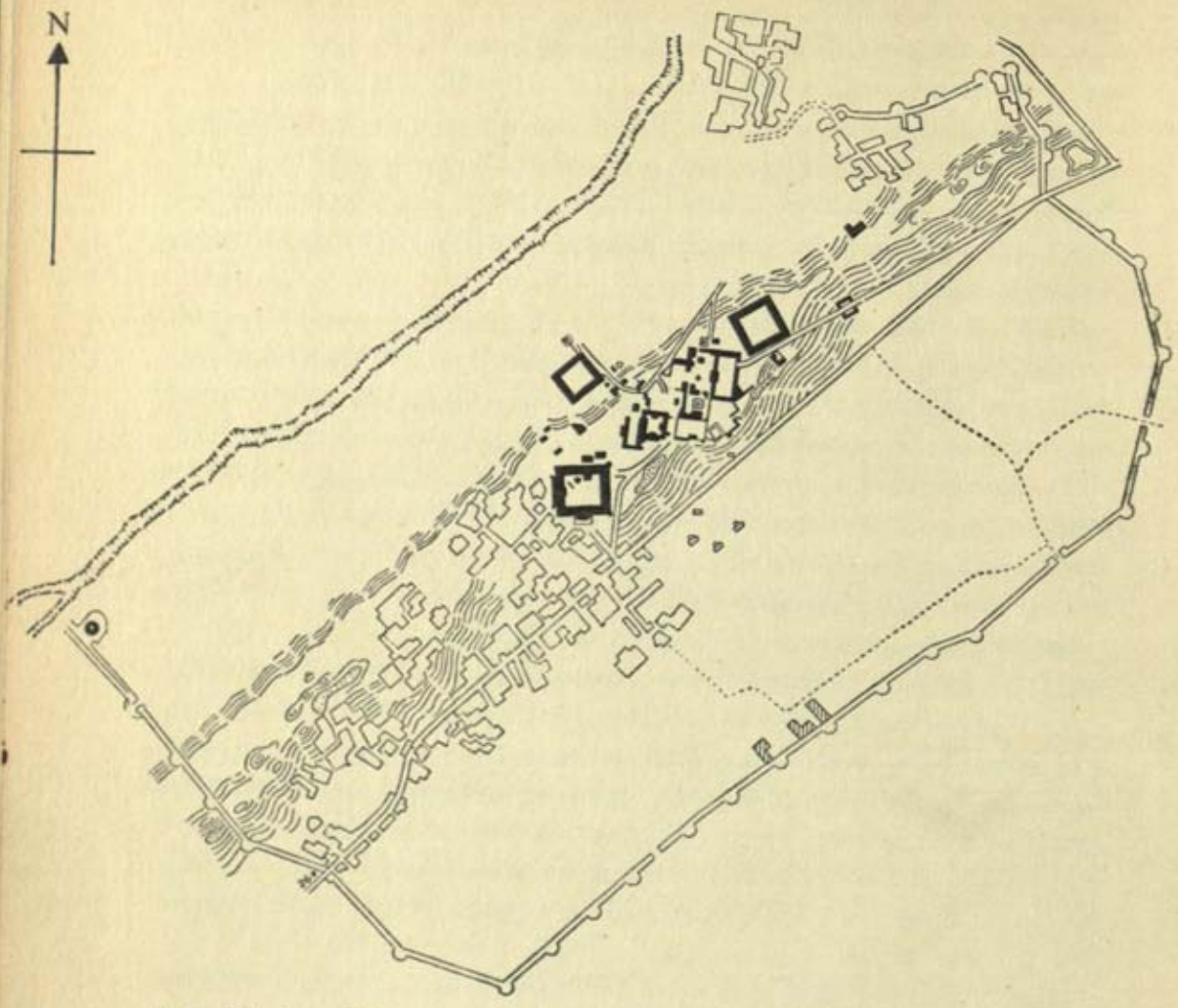
tory in the Deccan in 1601, he commemorated this event by an inscription on the Gate of Victory in which he included the famous lines: 'Isa [Jesus] on whom be peace, said: The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house on it.'

From 1572 onwards one building after another was completed, among them the particularly beautiful house of the most influential Hindu at the court, Raja Birbal, and the nobility with their servants were able to move into the new residence from Agra, inside the walls of which evil spirits had made their home, according to the views of the superstitious.

Scarcely anything remains of the residential quarters and bazaars of the town, which, according to the writings of the Englishman Ralph Fitch was larger than the London of his day. But the group of stone buildings belonging to the emperor have remained almost undamaged since the year 1585, when, although the town was scarcely finished, they were abandoned again: the wide courtyard, which served as the public audience hall, with its balcony for the emperor, the private audience hall with its remarkable central pillar, the 'House of Dreams', the library and the houses of the Turkish Sultana and other ladies.

Unfortunately the 'House of Worship', described by contemporaries, can no longer be identified; perhaps a zealous successor of Akbar allowed this memorial to his attempts towards religious universality to disappear. The hall of audience, the Diwan-i-Khas, which, because of its quite unusual arrangement had previously been taken for the House of Worship, appears to have served only for the completely secular discussions between the Great Moghul and his dignitaries, otherwise it could well have been imagined how he sat in the centre under the pillar, which spread out like foliage, to receive the message of four world religions from the four corners of the earth, and reconcile them with each other.

During his stay in the Punjab Akbar had had a mystical experience while sitting under a fruit tree, which caused the conviction to grow upon him that he was an instrument of God and no longer needed the usual intermediaries. The conflict between the two Islamic sects represented at his court repelled him moreover, and he began to take a real interest in other religions. The teaching of Zarathustra, put forward by the Parsees, impressed him so much that he prostrated himself in prayer before the sun and fire, and ordered the assembled court to rise in the evening in honour of the lighting of the candles. He surprised those around him, too, when he appeared one day with the Hindu mark painted on his forehead, and another time he wore Christian emblems. A distinguished member of the Jain sect, which is related to Buddhism, who, being invited to Fatehpur Sikri from distant Ahmedbad, made his way there on foot, induced Akbar to give up

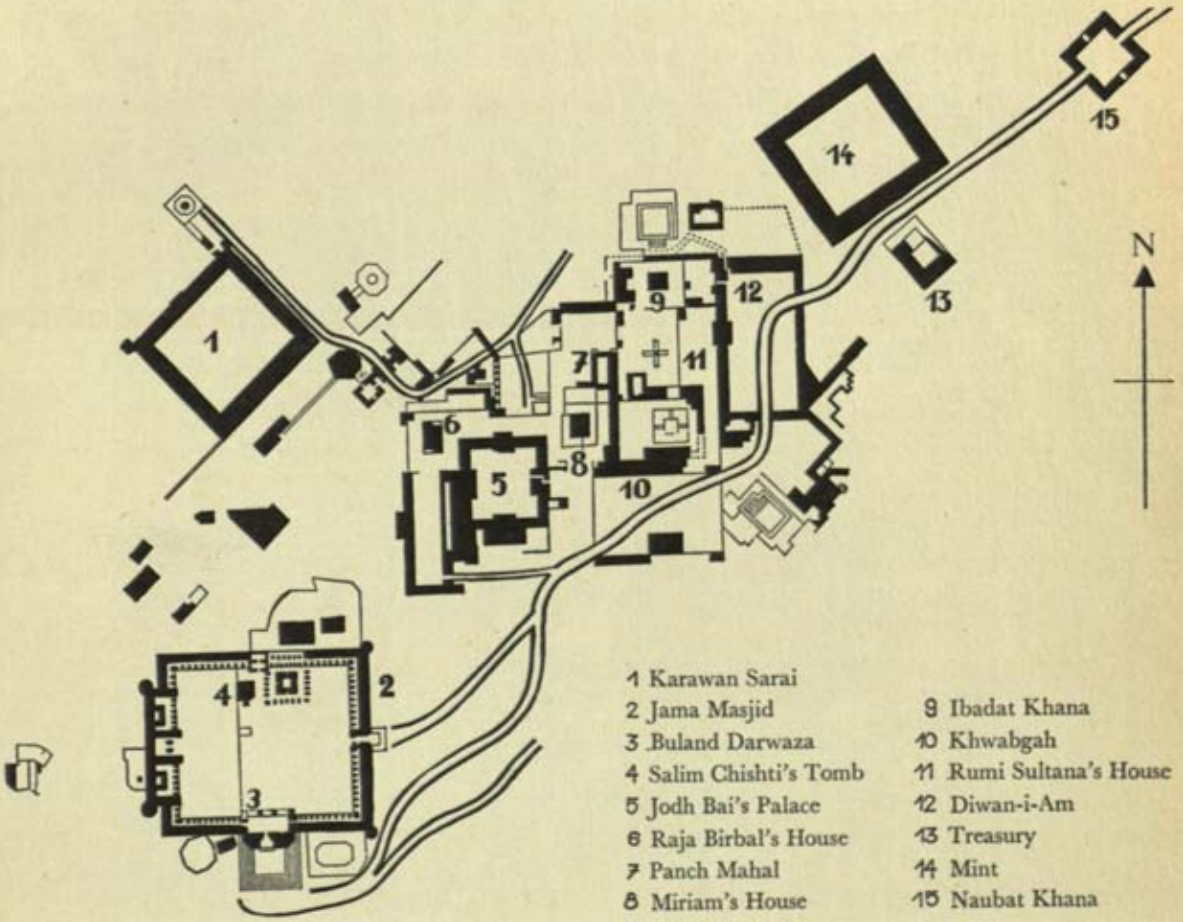


Plan of Fatehpur Sikri

his beloved hunting, to eat no meat and to free imprisoned men and cage-birds. One of the Jesuit fathers, with whom he had long conversations, declared that the emperor had expressed the wish to visit Goa secretly, on the pretence of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and of there having himself baptised. At the end of June 1579, he himself mounted the pulpit of the Great Mosque and instead of the usual 'Khutbah', read out a piece composed by his court poet for the occasion. A few weeks later, he caused himself to be declared infallible as the highest authority in matters of religion. In the year 1582 he announced at last, finally

breaking from the faith of his fathers, his doctrine of the Din-i-Illali, the Divine Faith. To the council that he called together he declared:

> For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with another ...
> We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all'; with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever better in another. In that way, honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the empire.



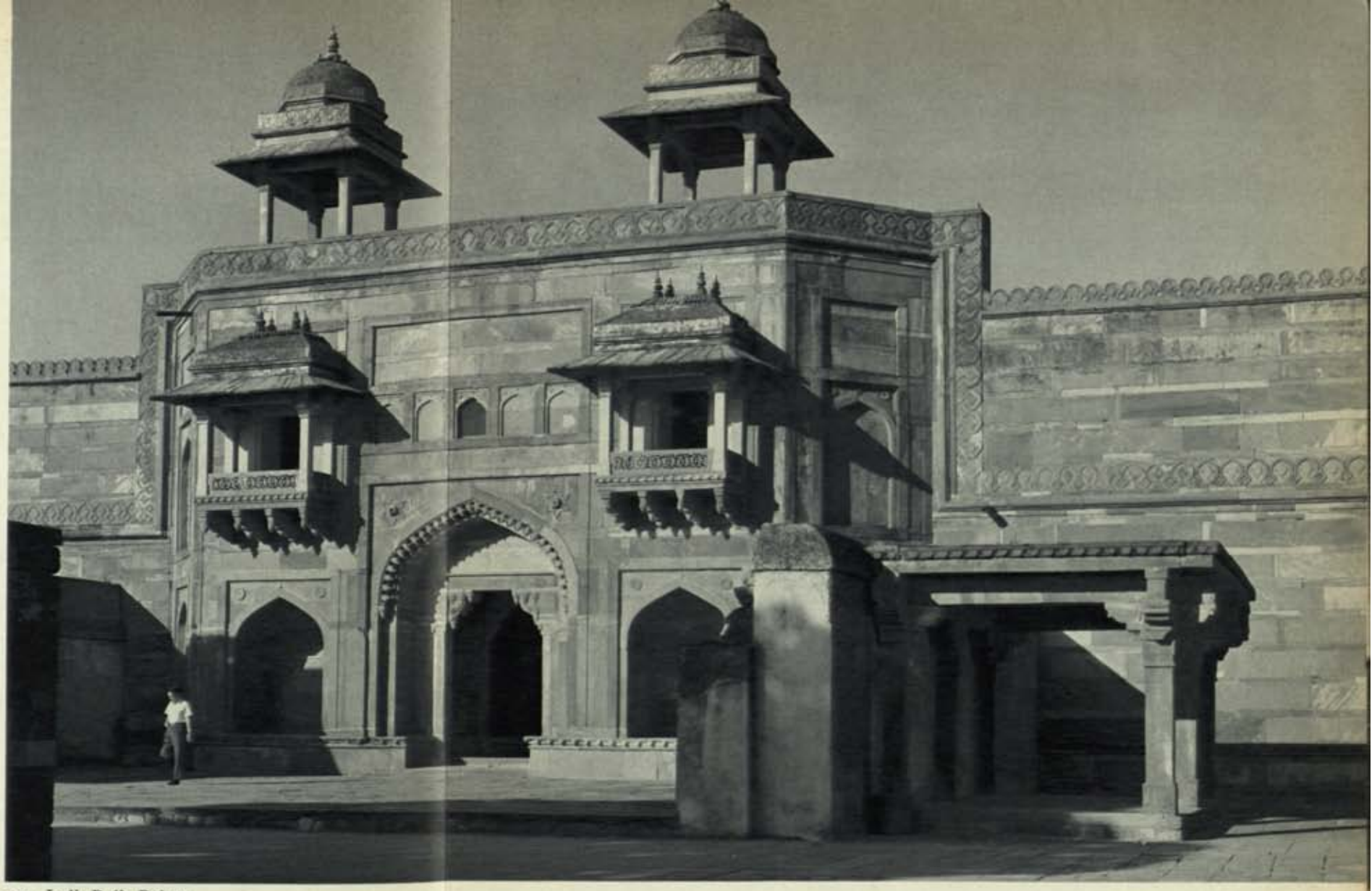
Fatehpur Sikri: the palace buildings

This bold, if not rash, idea did not progress beyond its Utopian beginning; neither the Moslems nor the Hindus showed any enthusiasm for it. The religious differences remained and grew more pronounced, Aurangzeb gave up tolerance, and this ended ultimately in the partition of India. Fatehpur Sikri, however, is the memorial to the ruler who attempted to unite men, attempting at the same time to be at one with himself, in a spirit that showed a remarkable mixture of humility and arrogance, scientific curiosity and superstition, mysticism and intellectual clarity, licentiousness and ascetism.

In the year 1585, Akbar moved to the Punjab, where he was obliged to stay for some time. By then the banks of the artificial lake were already broken down. Without this the water supply was hardly sufficient and the climate was unhealthy. No one wanted to go back to the town of victory, and Akbar spent his last years in the old seat of Agra. Only one of his successors in the eighteenth century stayed for a short time in Fatehpur Sikri. The climate and vegetation destroyed everything that it could and the place was forgotten until the archaeologists revealed it again as one of the most remarkable of the innumerable astonishing monuments of India.

126. Fatehpur Sikri. Panch Mahal

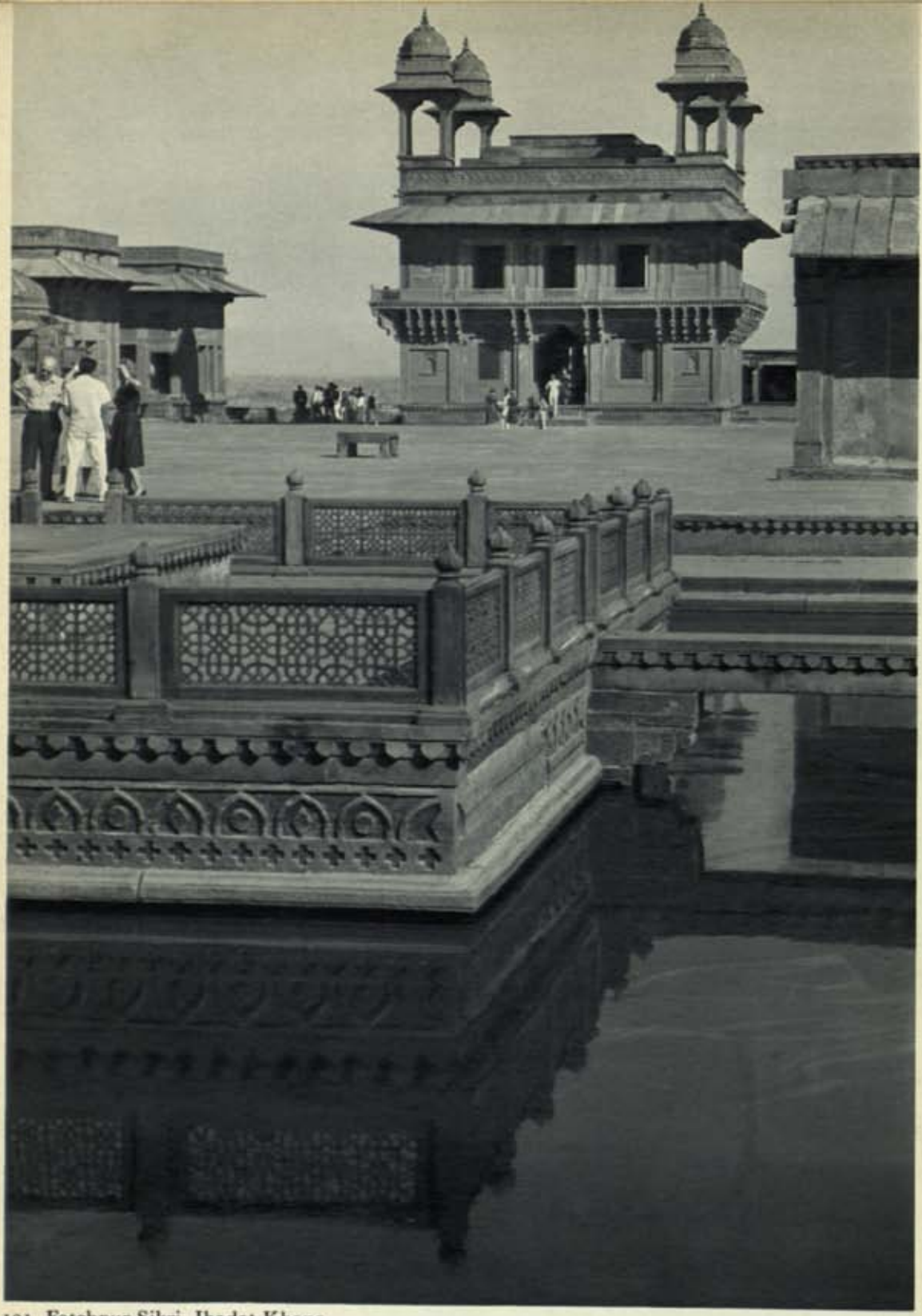
127. Fatehpur Sikri. Nahabat Khana



129. Jodh Bai's Palace

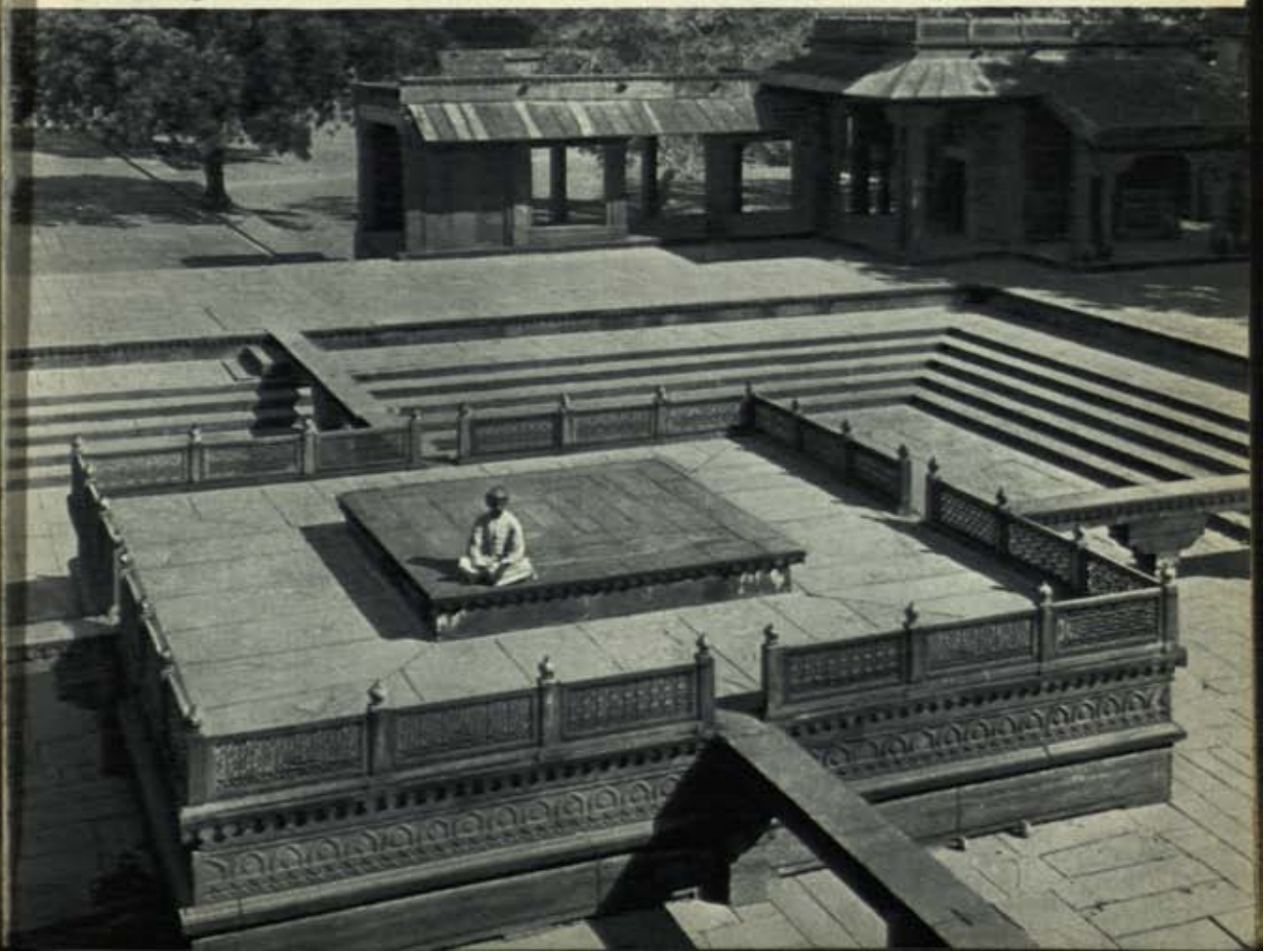
128. Diwan-i-Am

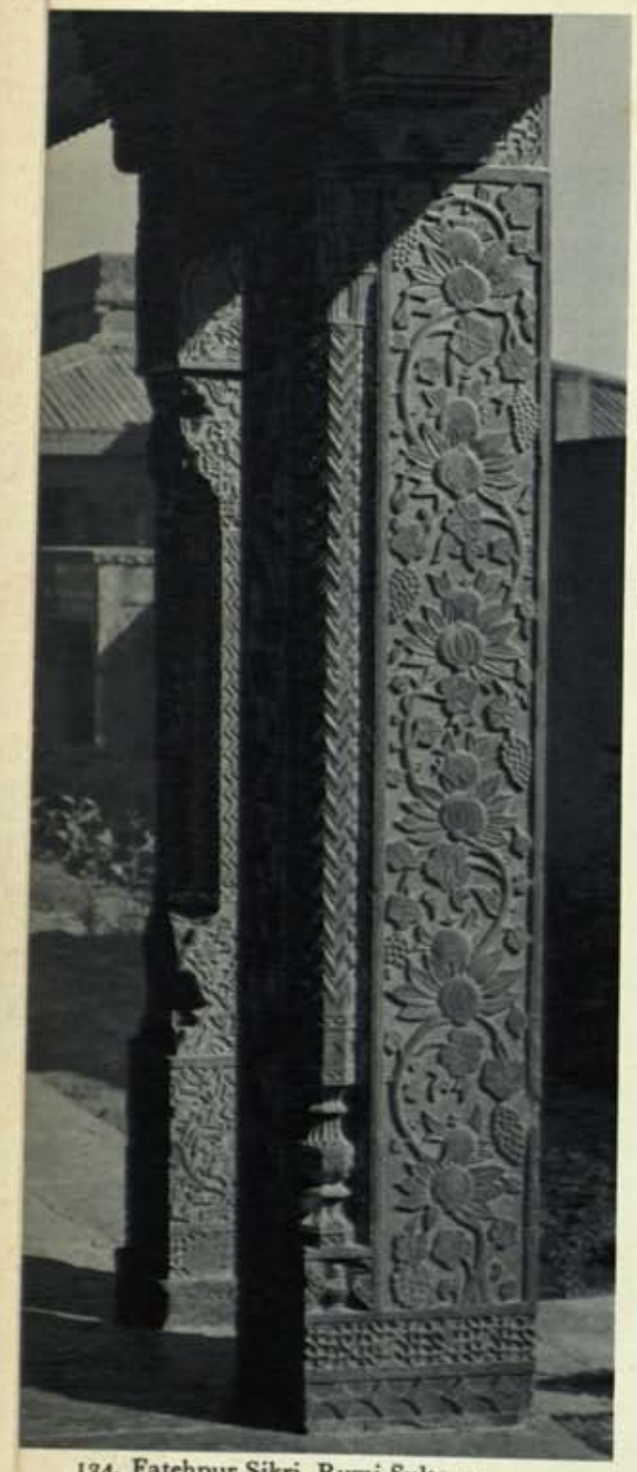
130. Miriam's House



131. Fatehpur Sikri. Ibadat Khana

132. Birbal's House
133. Fatehpur Sikri

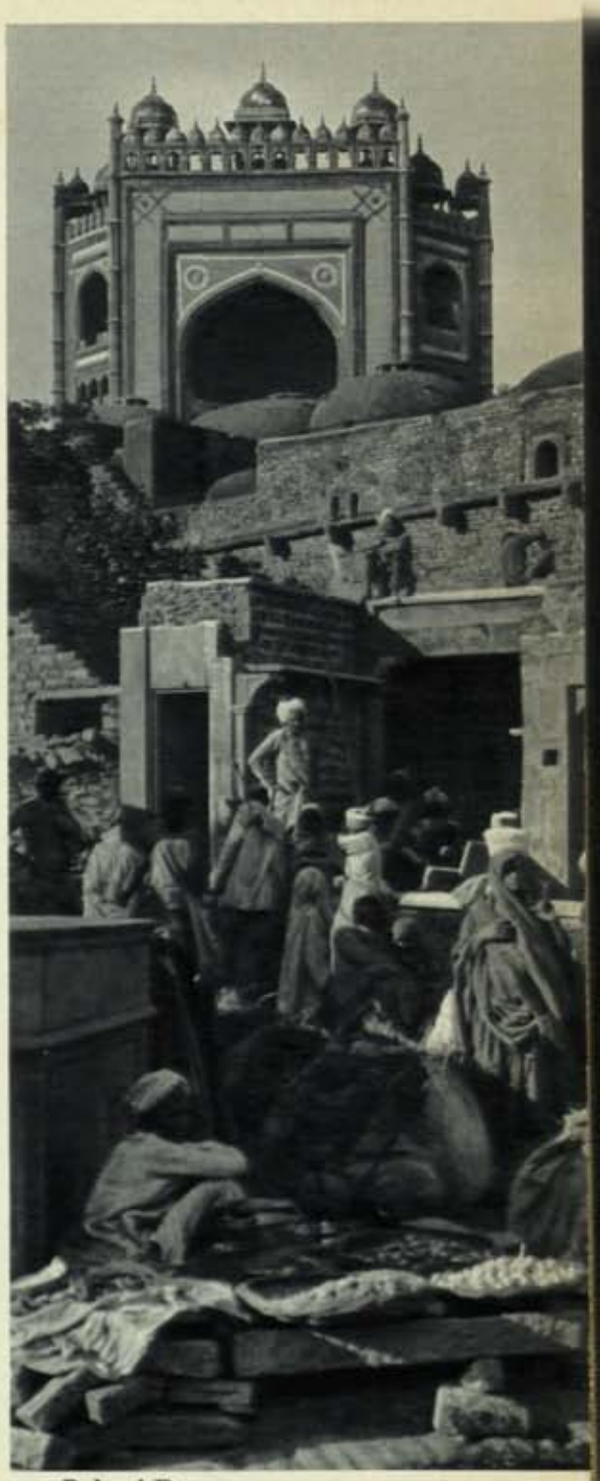




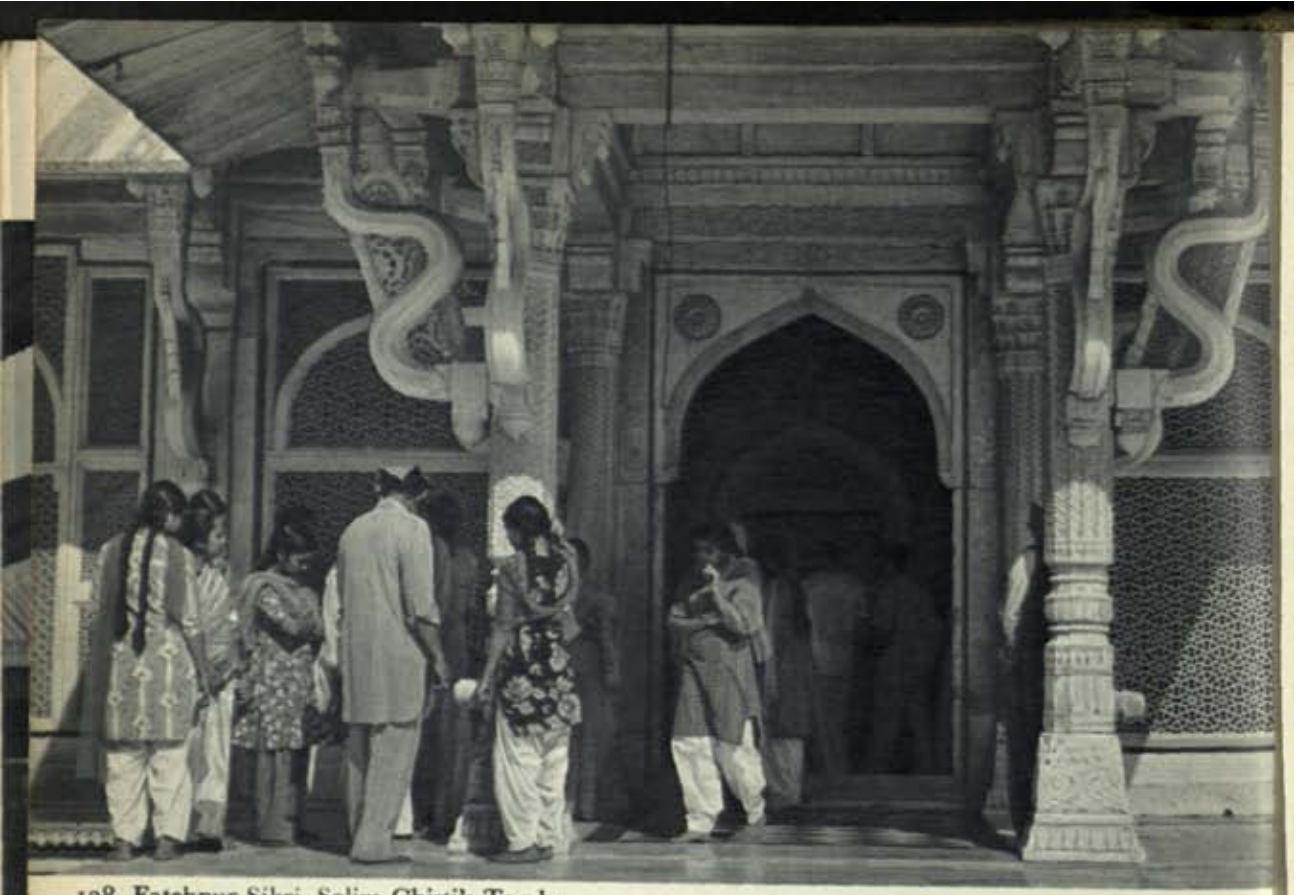
134. Fatehpur Sikri. Rumi Sultana

135. Panch Mahal

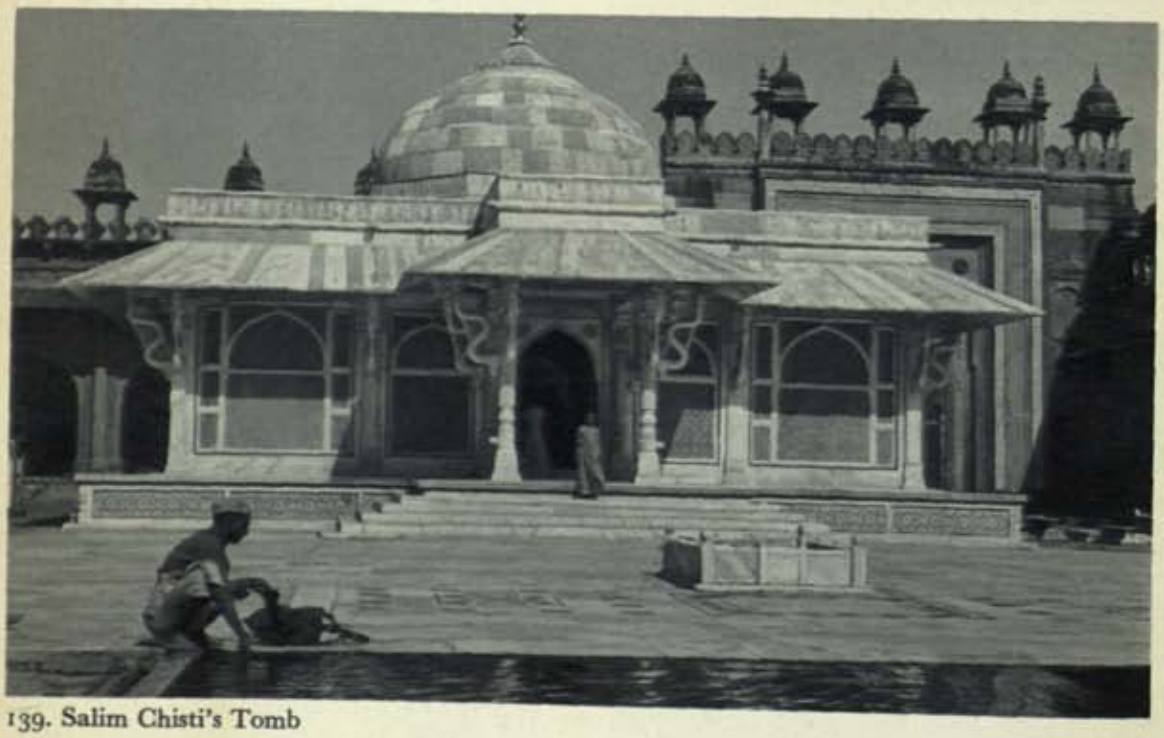
136. Khwabgah



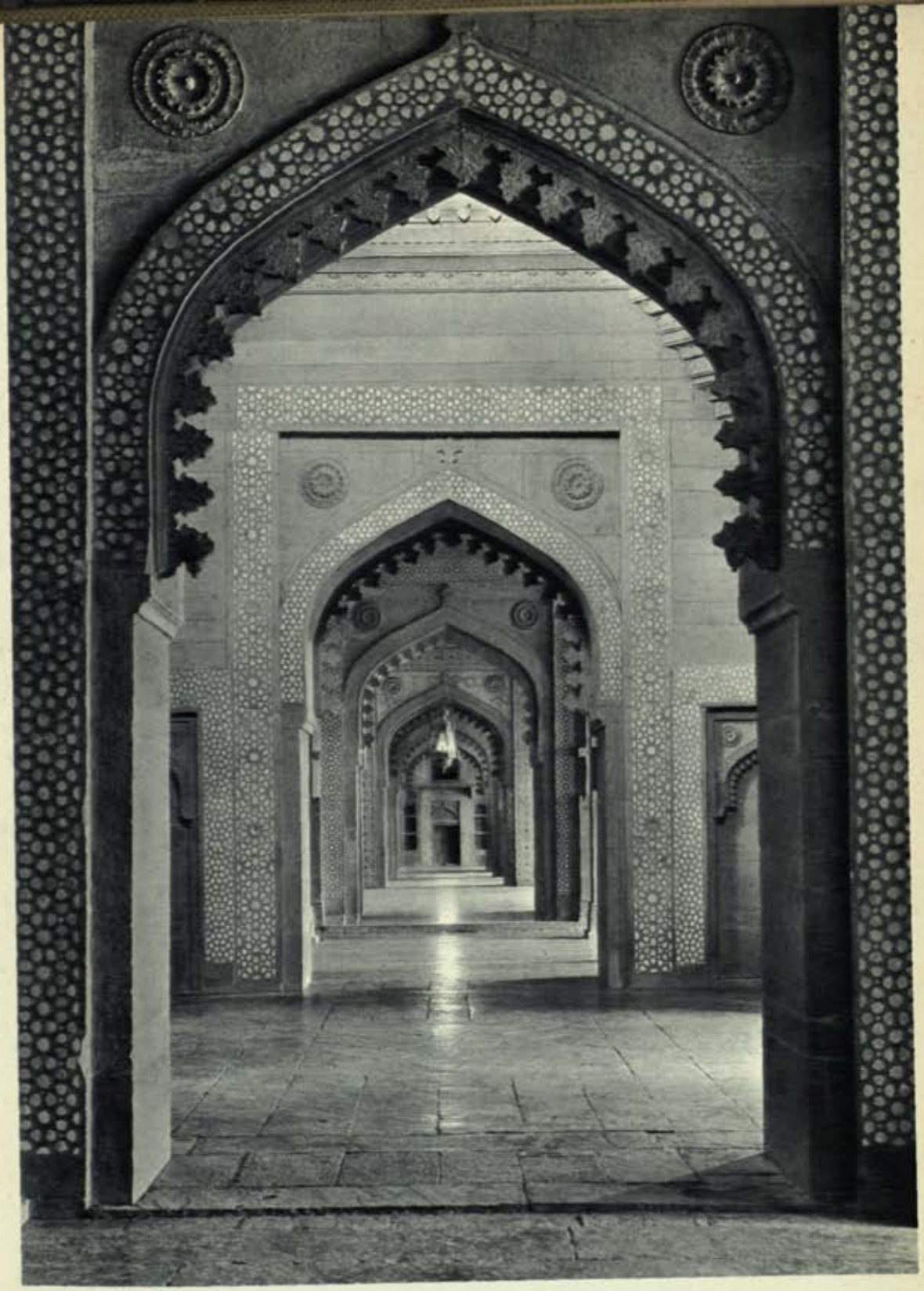
137. Buland Darwaza



138. Fatehpur Sikri. Salim Chisti's Tomb



139. Salim Chisti's Tomb



140. Jami Masjid

NOTES ON THE PLATES

141. Fatehpur Sikri. Ibadat Khana

OLD DELHI

1–12 LAL KOT

1 The minaret and tower of victory of the Qutb Minar, which is 238 ft high and 48 ft in diameter at the base. It was begun by Qutb-ud-din Aibak, and continued in red sandstone as far as the balcony of the third storey by Altamish; the top two storeys were re-faced with marble by Firoz Shah Tughlaq after the tower had been struck by lightning in 1368.

2 At the foot of the Qutb Minar.

3 Inscriptions and decorative work on the earliest and lower part of the Qutb Minar. As well as quotations from the Koran, there are allusions to the builder, Qutb-ud-din, as the 'Emir, the Glorious, the Great', and also to Mohammed of Ghor, who had appointed him to be viceroy, and to his brother, King Ghiyaz-ud-din.

4 Alai Darwaza, the south entrance to the precinct of the Great Mosque and to the Qutb Minar. The former was built in 1310 by Ala-ud-din.

5 The tomb of Imam Zamin, who died in 1537 and was honoured as a saint. It is situated next to the Alai Darwaza.

6 A stepped building at the approach to the precinct of the Mosque of Lal Kot, the purpose of which is uncertain. In the background, the tower of Qutb Minar.

7 The Alai Minar tower, which measures 100 ft in diameter at its base, which was built by Ala-ud-din in 1312. It was intended to overtop the Qutb Minar with a height of 500 ft but only reached a height of 87 ft. In the foreground is the extension to the Great Mosque built by the same ruler.

8 The Great Mosque of Lal Kot, Quwwat-ul-Islam, that is to say, Might of Islam, begun in 1193 by Qutb-ud-din, showing the main wall with its high central arch, 53 ft high. In front of it, in the middle of the courtyard of the Mosque, stands the Iron Pillar.

9 The Iron Pillar, which is 23 ft high, including the part let into the ground. It is made of a piece of pure, and therefore rust-free, cast iron, which, according to a Sanskrit inscription, dates from the time of the Guptas. A later inscription of 1052 mentions Anang Pál, who perhaps brought the pillar to Delhi from Bihar and set it up in his temple, from which it was then removed to the Mosque. The photograph was taken before the erection of the protective railing, which put an end to the damage done by people walking round it and touching it.

10 The tomb with a sarcophagus lying in an open courtyard in the north-west corner of the Great Mosque, which is generally supposed to be that of Altamish, who died in 1235 (Iltutmish). It can be entered through portals on three sides; on the fourth side (left of the picture) is a large central prayer niche (Mihrab), flanked by two smaller ones; the red sandstone was enlivened by marble inlays – the colour now shows weathering – and is richly decorated with ornamental reliefs, in which quotations from the Koran are carved in Naskh, Tughra and Kufic characters.

11 Quwwat-ul-Islam: the pillars of the destroyed Hindu temple were used for the halls which surround the courtyard of the mosque. According to one inscription pieces from twenty-seven holy places were used in the building of the mosque.

12 Quwwat-ul-Islam: pillars in the western forecourt.

13–14 TUGHLAQABAD

13 Ghiyaz-ud-din Tughlaq (1320–25) built his tomb in what was once a lake at the foot of the hill on which Tughlaqabad rises; the forbidding building of red sandstone with marble inlays and a white marble dome, is largely free of decoration and lies in the middle of a grey stone fortification.

14 Opposite the tomb of Tughlaq rise the mighty walls of the fortress which he built.

15–18 HAUZ KHAS

15 The Tomb of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who died in 1389, which was restored at the beginning of the sixteenth century under Sikandar Lodi.

16 A group of pavilions at the Tomb of Firoz Shah.

17 Buildings belonging to the same group, with the domed halls of the college founded by Firoz.

18 The pool of Hauz Khas was laid out by Ala-ud-din in the thirteenth century, and the buildings were erected a hundred years later by Firoz Shah, the dome of whose tomb can be seen at the south-west corner of the pool.

19–23 PATHAN TOMBS

19 The Mausoleum of Sikandar Lodi (1489–1517) was probably built by his son and successor, Ibrahim, in about 1517–18. The dome, which rises over the octagonal building, in which multi-coloured glazed bricks were used, shows the typical Pathan style like a great many similar tombs of this time. The dome is one of the first examples of the double dome, high on the outside but flatter on the inside, which was afterwards widely used in Moghul buildings.

20 Sish (or Shish) Gumbad, together with Bara Gumbad, forms a group with two of the most beautiful examples of tombs of eminent persons from Lodi times.

21 This mosque, which was built onto the tomb of Bara Gumbad in 1494, is distinguished by its interesting design as well as by its well preserved stucco decoration.

22 Isa Khan Niyazi (not to be confused with Isa Khan Lodi, a cousin of Buhlul Lodi) was one of the generals of the Afghan, Sher Shah, and his tomb near Humayun's mausoleum, built in 1547, is one of the last important examples of Pathan architecture, which was predominant in Delhi under the Lodis.

23 The tomb of Isa Khan, like most of the larger tombs of this time, was completed by the addition of a mosque.

24–27 PURANA QILA

24 Purana Qila, that is to say Old Fort, is the fortified town which Sher Shah established on the site of Din Panah, founded shortly before by Humayun. The strong walls are interrupted on the south side by a splendid gate of red sandstone with marble inlays.

25 Qila Kuhna Masjid, the Mosque of Sher Shah in Purana Qila. With it, the Pathan architecture of Delhi reaches one of its highest artistic levels. The red sandstone building, decorated in the front with multi-coloured glazed bricks, retains a general impression of real dignity, in spite of the opulence of its decoration and design, which is typical of the buildings of these rulers.

26 Sher Mandal, an octagonal building situated near the Mosque of Sher Shah, evidently served as a library; it was here that Humayun met with a fatal accident on 24 January 1556, a few months after regaining possession of his former capital.

27 The interior of the Qila Kuhna Mosque.

28–30 DARGAH NIZAM-UD-DIN AULIA

28 In the holy place which has grown up round the tomb of the Moslem saint, Nizam-ud-din Aulia, is, among other tombs, that of Jahanara Begum, a sister of the emperor Aurangzeb, who accompanied her father, Shah Jahan, into imprisonment at Agra in 1657; after his death she returned to Delhi and died there in 1681.

29 The Dargah or Shrine of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, who was revered by Moslems and Hindus alike, and who died in 1325 at the age of ninety-two. He opposed Tughlaq Shah and probably helped murder the king. The tomb was built by Mohammed Tughlaq, enlarged by Akbar and finally acquired a dome in late Moghul times.

30 A group of musicians seated by the saint's tomb, which is still much visited to this day.

31 FIROZABAD

31 In 1357 the emperor, Firoz Shah, set up in his palace or Kotla, one of the two Ashoka pillars which had been discovered and brought to Delhi. The scholars who were summoned by Firoz, were unable to decipher the inscription in Brahmi containing the edict of Ashoka. Below this text, which goes back to 300 BC, is an inscription in Nagri dated 1524, presumably from the time of the re-discovery of the pillar.

32–33 SURAJ KHUND

32 South of Tughlaqabad lies the site of Suraj Khund. Reliable information is lacking regarding its origin, although it is as good as certain that it is a Hindu shrine. On the west side of the artificial lake stand the remains of a building, which, according to local tradition was a temple of the sun-god; this seems to be confirmed by some carved stones which have been used to make a later building or to repair the steps leading down to the lake.

33 On both sides and opposite the temple ruins, steps forming an amphitheatre lead down to the pool of Suraj Khund. Research into this site, which is unique in its way, is still going on, but so far no clear-cut theory has been produced regarding it.

34–36 THE MOGHUL TOMBS

34 The Mausoleum of Humayun was erected for the emperor, who died in 1556, by his widow, Hamida Begum, and was completed in 1572. The mother of Akbar had accompanied her husband into exile in Persia, and the architect brought in by her, Mirak Mirza Ghiyas, who belonged to her circle of trusted friends at her dowager's estate in Delhi, was presumably of Persian origin. With this tomb he created the first masterpiece of Moghul tomb architecture, which may also be considered as a forerunner of the Taj Mahal. Red sandstone and white marble are here combined in a very effective manner. The body of the building rises from a square base, containing four portals, each 40 ft high. The white marble dome towers 125 ft, above the platform, and is flatter on the inside than on the outside.

35 Not far from the tomb of Humayun stands the tomb of Nawab Safdar Jang, which dates from 1753 and is thus nearly two hundred years later than that of Humayun. Nawab Safdar Jang played a part in the history of the late Moghul empire as a statesman and general, with varying fortune. This late work accepts the challenge from the vigorous beginning of an era, and tries to capture once again the glory of a bygone age.

36 The site of the tomb of Humayun from the air, with the western main entrance in the foreground. In the south-east corner, to the right above, a smaller tomb is visible inside the garden, where the emperor's favourite barber is reputed to rest, and outside the wall, with its blue dome shining in the distance, is the tomb of one Fahim Khan, about whom history tells us nothing.

37–38 KHIRKI

37 In what is today the village of Khirki, to the south-east of the former city of Jahanpanah, Khan-i-Jahan Jumna Shah, the son of Firoz Tughlaq's omnipotent minister, Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani, erected about 1380 one of the most interesting of the many mosques of Old Delhi: massive monolithic pillars support the arches round four symmetrically arranged courts, in which the prayer wall is no longer dominant in any way, so that one might even reach the conclusion – doubtless erroneous – that the whole was conceived as a Hindu structure.

38 Exterior view of the Mosque of Khirki.

39–58 THE EMPEROR'S PALACE IN THE RED FORT

39 The royal bath (Hammam), which is almost next door to the private audience chamber (Diwan-i-Khas). *Pietra dura* work consisting of inlaid semi-precious stones occurs not only on the walls (cf. Pl. 109, the Palace of Agra), but also in the floor tiles.

40 The Lahore Gate, the western entrance to the Red Fort, seen from the outside. The Red Fort and its palace buildings were built in 1639–48 by Shah Jahan.

41 View from the Diwan-i-Am (Pl. 42) towards the inner gateway, the Nakkar Khana, which leads to the palace buildings from the Lahore Gate. Above the gateway, where all visitors apart from members of the imperial household had to leave their horses or vehicles, is the band gallery. It is built in red sandstone.

42 View from the inner gateway, the Nakkar Khana (Pl. 41), of the public audience chamber, the Diwan-i-Am, a pillared hall, open on three sides, measuring 100 ft by 60 ft.

43 Diwan-i-Am. On the rear wall of the emperor's alcove (Pl. 44) are realistic representations of birds on a black marble ground and the picture of Orpheus. These are in a different style from the other works in *pietra dura* of the Moghul palace, and probably come from Italy. They were dismantled by the English after the Mutiny of 1857 and set up in the South Kensington Museum in London; they were recovered by Lord Curzon when the building was restored.

44 The emperor's alcove in the centre of the rear wall of the Diwan-i-Am, where the famous peacock throne stood, and the ruler listened to his subjects at his audiences.

45 The interior of the Diwan-i-Am was once covered with ivory-white polished plaster. Right, the rear wall with the emperor's alcove.

46 The Rang Mahal, or Painted Palace, of the Chief Sultana, with the channel for the Stream of Paradise (Nahr-i-Bihisht), which flowed through this suite of rooms facing towards the Jumna.

47 A detail of the marble trellis-work at the Rang Mahal.

48 View towards the Rang Mahal from the octagonal pavilion of Musamman Burj, which overlooks the Jumna.

49 Diwan-i-Khas, the private audience chamber, is decorated with *pietra dura* work and ornamental goldwork on a white marble ground, and is an example of Moghul decorative art at the peak of its perfection. The photograph shows the central part of the room, which measures 90 ft by 67 ft, with its view over the Jumna, and the base on which the peacock throne stood before it was carried off by Nadir Shah. Originally it was set up in the public audience chamber. Among other historical events here was the reception of General Lake by the Great Moghul in 1803, and in 1858 the court of Justice met here to consider the case of the last of his line.

50 Diwan-i-Khas: view southwards towards the Rang Mahal.

51 View of the Diwan-i-Khas seen from the west.

52 The little Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, of white and pearl-grey marble, was built by Aurangzeb for his private use in 1659, shortly after the beginning of his reign. He probably employed the workmen who had been trained by his father. View from the sanctuary across the courtyard, which measures 40 ft by 35 ft towards the entrance wall.

53 In the centre of the side bordering the river of the Hayat Bakhsh (or life-giving garden), stands a simple pavilion on the site of the original Pearl Palace (Moti Mahal).

54 On the north side of the garden of Hayat Bakhsh stands the Sawan Pavilion; on the south side, the similar Bhadon Pavilion (for which it is mistaken in the caption under the picture).

55 View from the Diwan-i-Khas of the three domes of the Pearl Mosque.

56 Carved marble in the Pearl Mosque.

57 The sanctuary of the Pearl Mosque.

58 Basins for ornamental water works in the Sawan Pavilion (Pl. 54).

59–80 THE CITY OF DELHI

59 Kalan or Kali Masjid, the Black Mosque, dates from 1386, the time of Firoz Shah, and is related to the similar Mosque of Khirki (Pls 37, 38).

60 Steps up to the south door of the Jami Masjid.

61 Jami Masjid, the Great Mosque of Delhi, built in 1644–58 by Shah Jahan in red sandstone and white marble, is the largest mosque in the Islamic world. View from

the east door over the wide courtyard of the mosque with its fountain for ablutions in the centre, towards the main building, the domes striped with white marble and the two 130-ft-high minarets or prayer towers which flank it.

62 View from the entrance into the courtyard of the Fatehpuri Mosque, founded in 1650 by Fatehpuri Begum, one of the wives of Shah Jahan.

63 Zinat-ul-Masjid, the 'Beauty among the Mosques', founded in 1710 by a daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is a distinguished late example, standing in quiet seclusion of the style created by Shah Jahan.

64 The Delhi Gate. In the foreground are a couple of two-wheeled *tongas,* which are still used to some extent even in this motorized age.

65 The recently restored Ajmir Gate.

66 Jantar Mantar is an observatory which was erected outside Delhi in 1725 by the versatile Maharajah Jai Singh II of Jaipur, and is reminiscent of his similar buildings in Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares. The site was completely surrounded by the new town when New Delhi was built. View from the high 'Prince of Sundials' over some of the other buildings which were used for observing the stars.

67 At the entrance to the Sikh sanctuary of Sisganj Gurdwara, where visitors wash their faces and feet. The Sikh religious community, which originated in the Punjab, was founded by Guru Nanak (1469–1538); Tegh Bahadur, who was executed by Aurangzeb on this spot in 1675, was the ninth Guru after him.

68–76 The cows, which are sacred to the Hindus, are free to roam at will and lie down among the colourful crowds in the bazaar quarter (68); young Sikh girls leaving the school of Sisganj Gurdwara (69); books, materials and all kinds of merchandise are displayed by the roadside; at the feast of Diwali (73, 74), many toys are offered for sale, and visitors from remote places are met with (74).

77 In one of the refugee villages which have grown up outside the town.

78 In the main street, Chandni Chauk.

79 In the north of the city, amongst the gardens of the former European quarter, is the house built in pure classical colonial style where the viceroy lived before he moved into Government House in New Delhi. Today the building is part of the university.

80 View from the Flagstaff Tower towards the Jumna and the Old Secretariat, which contained the main government offices before New Delhi was built.

81 The Lakshmi Narayan Temple, also called the Birla Mandir, was founded by Jugal Kishore Birla and inaugurated in 1939 by Mahatma Gandhi for the express purpose that it should be open to all Hindus whatever their caste or particular denomination. Architectural features have been borrowed from the temple buildings of Orissa.

82 The Rashtrapati Bhavan, the former viceregal palace or Government House, is now the official residence of the President of the Republic. The architect was Sir Edwin Lutyens. It is built of red and white sandstone, and its highest dome which is made of copper, rises 177 ft from the ground. Central view of the west façade.

83 On the east side of the Rashtrapati Bhavan there is a garden laid out in Moghul style.

84 Indra Chauk, still widely known by its former name of Connaught Place, is a square with pillared arcades which are reminiscent of London and Bath; it forms the business centre of New Delhi.

85 Broadcasting House (All India Radio), a building of the 'fifties.

86 Indra Chauk (see Pl. 84).

87 In 1927 the Parliament House, one of the first buildings in New Delhi to be completed, was opened. The three semicircular buildings were designed for the two Houses of Parliament and the Chamber of Princes, which was dissolved when independence was granted. Under the central dome is the library.

88 The main entrance to Parliament House.

89 Terrace of houses for officials.

90 The Reserve Bank of India, one of the buildings in Parliament Street which have gone up since the war.

91 A church.

92 Vigyan Bhawan was built in the 'fifties for meetings of government officials and for international conferences.

93 The Ministry of Railways.

94 A hospital (Dr Sen's Nursing Home).

95 A row of houses for people of moderate means.

96 This Buddhist temple, which was founded in association with the Birla Temple (Pl. 81), has a tower which is reminiscent of the temple of Buddha Gaya. Although for a long time Buddhism has been scarcely practised in India, the land of its origin, it enjoys a certain sympathy as a part of Hinduism among modern Hindus, who, following Gandhi's example, have put aside caste prejudice.

97 The Secretariat, which was completed in 1929–30 from the designs of Sir Herbert Baker, consists of two blocks of administrative buildings which flank two sides of the square in front of the west façade of the President's palace. Together with the latter it forms the 'Acropolis' overlooking the city.

98 The memorial stone (Samadhi) of Rajghat commemorates the spot where Mahatma Gandhi was cremated, after his assassination on 30 January 1948 in Birla House at 21 Albuquerque Road.

99 At the end of 1956, the Ashoka Hotel, named after the great Buddhist emperor of ancient times and built at government expense, was opened to the public. It attempts to combine a modern multi-storeyed hotel with stylistic forms from a Rajput palace.

100 The American Embassy, built in 1960, is distinguished by the bold simplicity of its lines.

101–113 THE FORT AND THE PALACE

101 The Pearl Mosque (Moti Masjid), built in 1646–53 by Shah Jahan. View along the centre of the transverse cloisters which measure 149 ft by 56 ft; to the left seven arches open on to the central courtyard.

102 Hathi Pol (Elephant Gate), the inner gate of the west gatehouse through which one enters the red and white sandstone fort. In the middle, between the two octagonal towers, is the gallery where musicians played when the emperor entered. The gate is a masterpiece of the early Moghul style under Akbar; one inscription commemorates Akbar's victorious Deccan campaign, and another the entry of the new emperor, Jahangir. The two figures of elephants, which gave the gate its name, were removed by Aurangzeb.

103 Saman Burj (Jasmin Tower) or Musamman (Octagon) is a pavilion which juts out from the Shah Jahan's palace towards the Jumna. In his memoirs Jahangir gives a detailed description of this jewel of Moghul architecture with its gilded roof. It was supposedly intended for the emperor's chief wife, and Shah Jahan appears to have renovated it when he built his own palace.

104 The west front of Jahangiri Mahal, a part of the palace buildings which goes back to the later days of Akbar.

105 One of the tablets from the lower part of the west front of Jahangiri Mahal, each of which displays a different abstract design.

106 Jahangiri Mahal; the third chamber shows a room constructed completely in the architectural style of the Hindu Princes.

107 The stalactite style of decoration on the pillars in the Jahangiri Mahal.

108 Anguri Mahal (Vineyard) in front of the Khas Mahal which borders it on the east side (see Pl. 112); on the other three sides it is surrounded by the gardens with their fountains belonging to a part of the Zenana, the living quarters of the women, and in the north, by the Shish Mahal, the Palace of Mirrors.

109 Characteristic *pietra dura* work (brightly coloured semi-precious stones inlaid in slabs of marble) on the side of the Jasmin Tower which faces the courtyard.

110 Relief and inlay work in Shah Jahan's palace.

111 Diwan-i-Am, the public audience chamber, a hall 208 ft long by 76 ft wide, with sandstone pillars covered in stucco. On three sides it opens on to a wide courtyard; in the middle of the east side (right) stood the throne of the emperor.

112 Anguri Bagh (see also Pl. 108) from the first floor of the west building looking towards the Khas Mahal (built in 1636). To the right and left of the latter are the two Golden Pavilions, far left is the Jasmin Tower which adjoins the Diwan-i-Khas, to the right in the background are the emperor's private apartments.

113 View from the roof of the Anguri Bagh looking over the more northerly of the two pavilions with gilded roofs which formed the women's quarters, towards the River Jumna and the Taj Mahal.

114–119 TAJ MAHAL

114 At the gateway of the Taj Mahal. This building, which is 141 ft high, forms the imposing entrance to the outer court (Taj Ganj). Part of the white-domed tomb itself can be seen to the left.

115 The gateway of the Taj seen from the platform in the centre of the garden; it dates from 1648, and was one of the last buildings in the group to be erected.

116 View from the balcony on the first floor of the gatehouse, looking over the garden towards the tomb with its domes.

117 The tomb seen from the platform in the garden. The marble base is 22 ft high, the top of the central dome is 186 ft high.

118 In the main chamber under the centre of the shallow inner dome stands the dummy sarcophagus of the empress, surrounded by marble lattice-work, with the inscription, 'The resplendent tomb of Arjmand Banu Begum, called Mumtaz-i-Mahal (Jewel of the Palace), died in 1040 AH (AD 1629)'. Next to it is the somewhat larger sarcophagus of the emperor with the inscription, 'The illustrious sepulchre of His Most Exalted Majesty, dignified as Razwan (the guardian of Paradise), who has found his refuge in Paradise and his dwelling in the starry sky, inhabitant of the land of bliss, the second lord of the Kiran (the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus at the time of his birth), Shah Jahan, the valiant king. He journeyed from this transient world into the world of eternity on the 28th of the month of Rajab 1076 AH (AD 1666)'. The graves themselves are arranged in the same manner in a lower chamber.

119 The marble lattice-work round the dummy sarcophagi.

120–121 THE TOMB OF ITIMAD-UD-DAULA

120 Inside the Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula on the left bank of the Jumna. Nur Jahan, the wife of Jahangir, built it in 1622–28 for her father, the Persian Mirza Ghiyas Beg, who, as treasurer to the king, was named Itimad-ud-Daula. Next to the sarcophagus of the minister stands that of his wife.

121 Exterior view of the Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula, which forms a rectangle 69 ft square and stands in the centre of a garden.

122, 123 and 125 SIKANDRA

122 The mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar in Sikandra, near Agra, on the road to Delhi. View from the gatehouse looking towards the tomb. According to an inscription of 1612, the building was finished in the 7th year of the reign of Akbar's successor, Jahangir. In 1691, while Aurangzeb was engaged in a war with the Marathas in the Deccan, it was plundered by the Jats, and on this occasion the remains of Akbar are supposed to have been burnt.

123 Akbar's mausoleum: view from one of the upper terraces looking on to the western and largest of the four gates surrounded by four minarets.

124 View from the marble terrace of the Taj Mahal over the River Jumna.

125 Marble lattice-work on the topmost level of Akbar's mausoleum in Sikandra, where a marble block like a sarcophagus stands in the centre of the platform, under the open sky; the inscription on it begins with the greetings from Akbar's 'Divine Faith': 'Allahu Akbar' (God is Great) and 'Jalla Jalalahu' (May His glory shine forth).

126–141 FATEHPUR SIKRI

126 Panch Mahal, the five-storeyed palace. Each storey is supported by colonnades: the first storey has 84, the second 56, the third 20, the fourth 12, and the topmost pavilion has 4. It is thought that the halls were used as a residence for the court ladies.

127 Nahabat Nakkar or Nahabat Khana is the name of the gate with a musician's gallery on the road to Agra.

128 Diwan-i-Am, the great public audience hall, here consists of a broad open courtyard. On the west side stands the building where the emperor appeared in an enclosure shut off on both sides by stone lattice-work.

129 The Palace of Jodh Bai was so named after one of Akbar's wives who came from Jodhpur, but it was more likely lived in by his chief wife, Rakiya, or by Miriam Zamani, the mother of Jahangir. It is considered to be one of the earliest buildings in the town, and besides the pronounced Indian character of the gatehouse it also shows Persian influence.

130 Miriam's House, seen from the top of the Panch Mahal. In the background is the much larger palace of Jodh Bai. Miriam's House is also called Sonahri Makan or Golden House. The tradition that this was the house of Akbar's Christian wife from Portugal, Bibi Miriam (Maria), is just as uncertain as whether this wife ever existed at all. On this account it is also attributed to Miriam Zamani.

131 Ibadat Khana, or House of Worship, is the popular designation of this building, and probably incorrect. It is much more likely to be the Diwan-i-Khas, the private audience chamber. It is a square two-storeyed building of a quite unusual shape, particularly inside (Pl. 141). In the foreground is the pool in front of Akbar's house, the Kwabgah (see also Pls 133 and 136).

132 The House of Rajah Birbal, which, according to an inscription, was finished in 1572. This is a particularly impressive building with its Pathan cupolas covering a typical Indian dwelling-house, but it is not thought to be very likely that the influential Rajah himself resided in it, as it adjoins the quarters reserved for women; it is thought rather that Birbal's daughter or one of the emperor's wives lived here.

133 The seat in the middle of a pool in front of the House of Dreams (Pl. 136). In the right background, the so-called House of the Rumi Sultana or Turkish Queen.

134 The little House of the Rumi Sultana is decorated with an abundance of low relief.

135 The open hall on the first floor of the Panch Mahal (Pl. 126). The shape and decoration of the pillars are remarkably varied.

136 The Kwabgah (House of Dreams) was the residence of the emperor himself.

137 The Gate of Victory, Buland Darwaza, of the Great Mosque seen from Sikri.

138 Jami Masjid. Entrance to the tomb of Salim Chishti.

139 The marble tomb of Salim Chishti, who died in 1571, in the courtyard of the Great Mosque. Originally the building consisted mainly of red sandstone; but even after the abandonment of the town the saint's tomb still attracted many visitors, Hindus as well as Mohammedans, and so it was later covered with marble in the style of the period and made even more magnificent.

140 Jami Masjid. View through the sanctuary of the mosque itself on the westside of the courtyard.

141 In the Diwan-i-Khas, called Ibadat Khana (see Pl. 131). Central pillar, from the wide corbelled capital from which four shafts lead to the four corners of the building and to the gallery at the first-floor level.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE RULERS OF DELHI

I. *The Pandavas*
in the Vedic Period:
Yudisthira and his four brothers

II. *Hindu Princes*
in historical times:
Anangpál of the Tomara Dynasty of middle of the eleventh century
The Chauhan Dynasty of Ajmir: Nigraha Rajah, middle of the twelfth century, and his successor, Prithvi Rajah, until the Mohammedan invasion of 1191

III. *The Slave Kings*
Qutb-ud-din Aibak 1206–10
Aram Shah 1210–11
Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (Altamish) 1211–36
Rukn-ud-din Firoz 1236
Raziyya 1236–40
Mu'izz-ud-din Bahram 1240–42
Ala-ud-din Mas'ud 1242–46
Nasoi-ud-din Mahmud 1246–66

IV. *The House of Balban*
Ghiyaz-ud-din Balban 1266–87
Mu'izz-ud-din Kaiqubad 1288–90

V. *The Khalji Sultans*
Jalal-ud-din Firoz 1290–96
Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim 1296
Ala-ud-din Muhammad 1296–1316
Shihab-ud-din Umar 1316
Qutb-ud-din Mubarak 1316–20
Nasir-ud-din Khusrav 1320

VI. *The House of Tughlaq*
Ghiyaz-ud-din Tughlaq 1320–25
Mohammed Tughlaq 1325–51
Firoz Tughlaq 1351–88
Ghiyaz-ud-din Tughlaq II 1388–89

Abu Bakr Tughlaq 1389–90
Mohammed Tughlaq 1390–94
Sikandar Tughlaq 1394
Mahmud Tughlaq 1394–96 and 1399–1413
Nusrat Shah 1396–99
Daulat Khan Lodi 1413–14

VII. *The Sayyid Rulers*
Khizr Khan 1414–21
Mu'izz-ud-din Mubarak 1421–34
Muhammad 1434–44
Ala-ud-din Alam Shah 1444–51

VIII. *The Lodi Dynasty*
Buhlul Lodi 1451–89
Sikandar Lodi 1489–1517
Ibrahim Lodi 1517–26

IX. *The Moguls*
Babur 1526–30
Humayun 1530–56

X. *The Sur Dynasty*
Sher Shah 1538–45
Islam Shah 1545–54
Muhammad Adil Shah 1554–55
Sikandar Shah 1555

The Moguls (continued)
Akbar 1556–1605
Jahangir 1605–27
Dawar Bakhsh 1627
Shah Jahan 1628–57 (d. 1666)
Aurangzeb 1658–1707
Azam Shah 1707
Kam Bakhsh 1707
Shah Alam Bahadur 1707–12
Azim-ush-sham 1712
Jahandar Shah 1712–13
Farrukh-siya 1713–19
Rafi-ud-Darajat 1719
Shah Jahan II 1719
Muhammad Shah 1719–48

Ahmad Shah Bahadur 1748–54
Alamgir 1754–59
Shah Jahan III 1759
Shah Alam II 1759–1806
Muhammad Akbar II 1806–37
Bahadur Shah II 1837–57 (d. 1864)

XI. *The British Raj*
The English sovereigns who were also Emperors of India:
Victoria 1877–1901
Edward VII 1901–10
George V 1910–36
(Edward VIII 1936)
George VI 1936–47 (king until 1950)

British Viceroys who resided in Delhi:
Lord Harding of Penshurst (1910) 1911–16
Viscount Chelmsford 1916–21
Marquess of Reading 1921–26
Lord Irwin (later Lord Halifax) 1926–31
Marquess of Willingdon 1931–36
Marquess of Linlithgow 1936–43
Earl Wavell 1943–47
Earl Mountbatten 1947, March to August

XII. *India after partition*
Jawaharlal Nehru: Prime Minister 1947–64
Earl Mountbatten: Governor General of the Dominion 1947–48
Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari: Governor General 1948–50
Dr Rajendra Prasad: First President of the newly founded Republic 1950–62
Dr Sarvepalli Rhadhakrishnan: President of the Republic since 1962
Lal Bahadur Shastri: Prime Minister since 1964

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POSTSCRIPT

As the spelling of proper names differs in almost every book, it cannot be claimed that the 'right' spelling has been adopted. The practical, rather than the academic course, has been taken keeping wherever possible to the version most commonly used as is the case in *Murray's Handbook for Travellers*. Accents which properly belong to these names in scholarly works, but which hinder rather than help the large majority of readers, have been omitted.

In the captions to the pictures themselves we have, as in all the other books in this series, taken the spelling locally in use, in this case, English; the traveller should therefore find his way about easily as the literature for this subject is also mainly in English, although, on the other hand, we hope that the reader of this book will go further than just look at the pictures and captions. As a whole, the captions serve only as a short reference; more extensive information can be found in the notes on the plates at the end of the book.

I should like to thank Air India and its excellent overseas service for supporting both my last journeys and the staff of the Archaeological Survey of India for their information.

I am always being asked about my camera. I am only too pleased to give details. For architectural pictures taken with a camera on a tripod, I used a Linhof, otherwise a Nikon and a Rolleiflex, with Ektachrome colour film. Most of the pictures were taken in 1958 and 1963/64, some go back to 1927. *M.H.*

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